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IV.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE  
LEGEND OF SAINT GEORGE, WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO THE SOURCES OF THE  
FRENCH, GERMAN AND ANGLO-  
SAXON METRICAL VERSIONS.

II.<sup>1</sup>

MIXED VERSIONS.

It has become evident so far that the basis for the different Latin forms of the story of the martyrdom of Saint George known in Western Europe during the Middle Ages was the apocryphal version. There is no evidence whatever of any direct influence of the Greek form of the legend upon the Latin variations. Zarncke in the *Ber. ü. d. Verh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 1874, p. 5, had laid down as a criterion for such influence the introduction of Diocletian and Maximian by the side of Datian; and Weber, in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, v, p. 505, accepted this principle, and on the basis of it he made a rough classification of the different forms of the legend known to him. Our investigation, I think, has shown clearly that no historical study of the growth of the legend can be based upon this entirely external feature. The introduction of the name of Diocletian into *Zc* and the versions deriving from it may be due to some remote influence of the canonical version, but beyond the presence of this name, the texts of this group do not show the slightest influence of the Greek form of the legend. The further addition of Maximian was a simple and natural step, after the story of the martyrdom had been placed in the tenth persecution of the Christians, and can prove nothing. As a

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, pp. 464-535.

matter of fact, the name is found in versions that do not have the remotest connection with each other, such as Me, V<sup>1</sup>, and Zc, d, e, g.

Truly mixed versions should show a fusion of different forms of the legend itself. This principle was evidently recognized by Vetter, *l. c.*, pp. lxiii ff., for he makes no allusion to Zarncke's or Weber's classification, while he cites as typical examples of mixing the version written by Petrus Parthenopensis and the M. H. G. poem, which forms the center of his study. The second of these texts we shall examine in detail in a later division of our investigation; here we shall confine ourselves to the study of the account written by Petrus Parthenopensis.

I. This version, which we shall call PP, may be found in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5312, fo. 63 v-67 v, and according to the *Anal. Boll.*, XI, pp. 213 and 228, also in the Bibl. Ambros. A. 251 Inf., fo. 72 v-78 v, and *ibid.* B. 49 Inf., fo. 106 r-109 v. It has been published in the *Bibl. Casin.*, III, *Florilegii*, pp. 341-348. An Italian translation of it in Toscan of the XIII cent. was printed by Isola, *Leggenda di San Giorgio, testo del buon secolo*, Genova, 1867.

The text begins with a prologue as follows: "Plerique illustrium celestis patrie amatores ad gloriam domini et honorem Sancte matris ecclesie plurimas sanctorum martyrum passiones variis erroribus involutas emendare conati sunt et clarificare. . . . Horum igitur patrum vestigia secutus ego Petrus, beati Georgii martyris passionem a variis translatoribus vitiatam, emendare studens, plurimis incongruis amputatis, solícite componere curavi." Then follows the version proper: "Postquam deus et salvator noster sua sancta presentia et gloriosa incarnatione mundum visitare atque illuminare dignatus est, ac deinde victor ab inferis resurgens cum nostre carnis substantia in celum exaltatus est, plurimi reges et principes terre insurrexerunt. . . ."

The story of the martyrdom is as follows:

1. A persecution broke out against the Christians during the reign of Diocletianus and Maximianus in the year 290 under the pontificate of Marcellinus. An edict of the emperors, threatening the Christians with tortures, is sent to the province of Cappadocia, and George from the city of Mellena appears at the emperor's court and confesses his faith. Then follows a long dialogue between him and the emperor, where the latter endeavors to persuade him to forsake his faith.

2. The tortures begin. George is stretched out and beaten by four hangmen, but he prays and feels no pain.

3. He is then bound upon a wheel fitted up with sharp swords. He prays and the wheel falls to pieces.

4. The people, who hear of these wonders, now crowd about him, to listen to his preaching. Among these are a certain officer by the name of Magentius and a widow whose son was lame, deaf and mute. She implores George to heal her child, though she confesses that she worships Apollo. The martyr prays to God, the child is healed, and both widow and son believe in George's God.

5. The pagans, who see the miracle, accuse George anew before the emperor, and more persecution is ordered. The martyr defends his action, and at the end invites the emperor to go with him to the temple to test the divinity of his gods. The emperor is delighted, and accompanied by the mighty of his court and all the people he goes to the temple. When they have arrived there, George kneels down and prays; then he walks towards the statue of Apollo and addresses it. The demon, who inhabits the statue, thereupon confesses that he is an idol and not a god. In another prayer George renders thanks to God for having shown the vanity of the idol, and then follows a long dialogue with the emperor concerning the nature of gods.

6. Finally the emperor commands that a cauldron filled with sulphur and pitch be brought up. A fire is kindled beneath and the martyr is placed in it. He prays to God,

and an angel from heaven appears and extinguishes the fire. Many of those who witness the miracle are converted.

7. George is now condemned to death and is led without the city and decapitated.

The date of this version is not entirely certain. According to Papebroch, *AA. SS. Aprilis*, III, p. 105, it was written shortly before 1251, when Petrus of Sorrento, archbishop of Naples, at whose bidding the text was written, died. This date is accepted by Vetter, *l. c.*, and elsewhere. However, a note in the *Bibl. Casin*, III, p. 290, tends to throw some doubt upon it. There were two archbishops of Naples by the name of Petrus, the first bearing this title from 1094–1116, the second from 1217–1262, and the editors are inclined to attribute the version to the initiative of the former of the two.

If we now try to discover the sources of Petrus, we shall come to the following conclusions:

1. The names of Diocletianus and Maximianus the author most probably derived from some member of family Z, perhaps c, for that was the version most widely scattered. The absence of any evidence of influence of the Greek versions, as we shall see, makes it useless to cite Me, where the two names also appear, as has been shown. The name of the city Mellena corresponds to the usual Melitena, Militena or Militana of Y and Z, but we have found the same form Melena, it will be remembered, in Y $\eta$ . Nothing similar is found in the canonical versions or in the texts of the family O. The introduction of Pope Marcellinus and the year 290<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The facts concerning this date are not entirely clear. The ms. in the Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5312 reads plainly "anno igitur ab incarnatione domini ducentesimo nonagesimo residente in urbe Roma Marcellino summo pontifice et universali papa."—Papebroch, *l. c.*, in characterizing this version, makes the following remark: "Omitto errorem Chronologicum, quo persecutionem coeptam ponit anno Christi cccx et quidem sub Pontificatu Marcelli, cum dicto anno sederit Cajus, decreta autem promulgata sint ultimo anno Marcellini, a nonnullis perperam cum successore Marcello confusi." This passage was evidently misunderstood by Vetter, *l. c.*, p. lxiiv, who had seen no manuscript of this version, and he gathers here the

as the date of the martyrdom can be duplicated from Yκ. Though the date there is not exactly identical with that given in PP, yet the similarity between the two is so close that it becomes evident that it does not represent an invention of Petrus, but that he followed a very definite manuscript tradition current in family Y.

2. The torture described in § 2 is quite indefinite. It seems to be the equivalent of O 2a, and particularly S of that family, where also only a single torture is mentioned. Both Y and Z preserve here their similarity to O.

3. The wheel, which breaks when George is thrown upon it, is characteristic of Z 4. In Y 4 the result of this torture is related as in the corresponding paragraph of O. In the canonical version the wheel is turned, but the martyr remains unhurt.

4. The conversion of Magentius agrees with Y 4, where the name occurs in various forms, such as Mananties, Mag-nanties, Manecies, Maxentius or Magnentius. The same name is found also in O 5 and elsewhere, and in the canonical version it is given to the counsellor of Diocletian. The form Magentius is found, as far as my material goes, only in S (Magentios), but his conversion is related only in Y.

The story of the widow and her son is altered too much to make it possible to detect a resemblance with any of our versions.

authority for the statement that PP places the martyrdom "i. J. 290 *sub pontificatu Marcelli* (was nicht zusammenstimmt)." I am unable to say whether some other manuscript of PP gives the name of the pope as Marcellus, or whether Papebroch has simply committed an oversight. The Paris ms. and the text published in the *Bibl. Casin* are not guilty of the error, which he criticises. As far as the date is concerned, it will be noticed, that the sentence quoted above from the Paris ms. agrees verbatim with the *incipit* of Yκ (cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xvii, p. 501) with this single variation, that there the number is given as 291. This same date stands in the text printed in the *Bibl. Casin.*, and in the Italian translation of this version, published by Isola. Inasmuch as the number 290 occurs again in Reinbot von Durne's poem, it becomes evident that both dates have a certain amount of manuscript tradition to support them.

5. The presence of George in the temple and the destruction of the idols agrees most closely with the account given in the canonical version. All the other texts relate that the idols were sent to the abyss, while here and in the Greek versions the incident ends with a confession on the part of Apollo that he is not the true God.

6. The burning cauldron, which is extinguished by an angel from heaven, is an exact reproduction of Y 8. The original version of the torture is found in O 8. There, however, the cauldron and its contents are buried. In Z 5 the appearance of the angel is not mentioned. The Greek versions present nothing similar whatsoever, unless it be § 4, the burial in the lime-kiln and the resuscitation after three days.

This comparison has made it evident that the sources of PP can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. It agrees with Zc in §§ 1 and 3, and with Y (Y<sup>1</sup>κ) in portions of § 1, and in §§ 2, 4 and 6. One striking similarity with S (Magentios) points back to the common source of Y<sup>1</sup> and S. No great weight is to be attached to the seeming agreement in § 5 with the Greek versions. The characteristic features of the incident are the participation of the widow's son and the destruction of the idols. Both being absent, the incident loses its distinctive coloring.

It is evident that PP is in reality a mixed version, drawn from both Y and Z. The text of Y, which was used, had some points in common with κ of that family, and seems also to have been closely related to the source of S.

II. A mixed version of a different type is contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 1788, fo. 43 r-49 v, of the XIII century.

*Incipit*—Cum ad vastandas undique ecclesias Diocletianus videlicet in Oriente, Maximianus vero in Occidente licet dissimilibus moribus, consimili tamen sententia conspirassent ad exequendum tam crudele ministerium immo sacrilegum suis competentem votis sacrilegum eundemque crudelissimum haud difficile repperunt ministrum, Dacianum videlicet. . . .

The occurrence of this passage verbatim in the manuscripts of Zc, immediately after the lengthy historical introduction,<sup>1</sup> led to a closer comparison of the two, when it became evident that this version is made up through an arbitrary union of Zc and a member of Y closely related to  $\mu$ , but not entirely identical with it ( $\mu'$ ). The basis of the text is Zc, but at certain places portions of  $Y\mu'$  are intercalated, and that in such a mechanical manner that the process is quite apparent.

The first two of these intercalations are immaterial. The third gives the account of George's torture on the wheel, as it was told in  $Y\mu'$ . It follows immediately after the version of this torture, as it is given in Zc, so that the same incident is repeated. Once the wheel is broken and George remains unhurt; the second time he is cut into ten pieces, which are thrown into a well. After this instance the text agrees again with Zc until the incident of the feigned sacrifice of George is reached; cp. Z, § 7. Here a passage is introduced, agreeing with  $Y\mu$ , which relates the appearance of the widow and the final healing of her child; however, the martyr then enters personally into the temple and destroys the statues of the idols. In Z the final sentence of death follows immediately after the destruction of the idols. Here the death of George in the cauldron, the conversion of Alexandria, the miracle of the tomb, and the final martyrdom of the saint are all told in close verbal agreement with  $Y\mu$  and  $Y\kappa$ . In the miracle of the tomb the spokesman is called Jobel, as in  $Y\kappa$ , but the number of souls brought to life is 235 as in  $Y\mu$ .

The version is unimportant, except inasmuch as it shows an evident mixture of Y and Z, and as it proves the existence of a version  $Y\mu'$ , which may have been also the source of the O. Fr. poem on the Passion of Saint George, published by Luzarche.<sup>2</sup> There, as in the present text, George enters the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> *La Vie de la Vierge Marie . . . suivie de la vie de Saint Georges*, Tours, 1859.



temple himself to destroy the idols, and in the miracle of the tomb the name of the spokesmen is *Jobel*, and the number of souls resuscitated is 235.

#### UNCLASSIFIED VERSIONS.

A few of the versions which have come to my notice fail to fit in the general classification which I have been able to establish.

Of this class is, in the first place, the text found in Saint Briec, ms. 1 of the xv century. The manuscript contains a prayer-book preceded by a calendar in French and some lives of Breton saints, St. Tugdual, St. Colomban and others. On fo. 195 begins a life of Saint Catherine, on fo. 200 a life of Saint Marguerite, and on fo. 219 follows a life of Saint George. This version contains an abridged and in places freely altered rendering of the story. However, in one instance, the presence of Athanasius and his magic (though the name itself is absent), it shows most striking agreement with Sg of the original version O. Its line of descent is independent of family Y or Z, and it proves, therefore, the continued existence of O for Western Europe. Though the version is of small value, it has some interest on that account, and I therefore publish the text in full. In places the text shows most striking verbal agreement with Zg, Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars. 570.

(F. 219 v) *C'est la vie et la passion Monseignor Saint George (f. 220 r) a savoir, Monseignor Saint George pour sa loy. Lors vint Saint George a la cité et print a hucher au peuple a haute voix: Ha, come vous estes mechante gienz et mescreans, qui lessiez a croire Dieu dou<sup>1</sup> ciel, pour croire le fust et la pierre, qui sont feiz des mains des hommes. Et saches, si vous ne lessiez vostre mauvesse erreur, vous serez<sup>2</sup> touz perduz et dampnés. Lors fut Saint George prins et mené davant le roy, et le roy li demanda, qui il<sup>3</sup> estoit, et commant il aveit non. Saint George dit: Ge suy crestien baptizé et ay non George et suy (f. 220 v) chevallier Dieu. Adonc commanda le roy que il feust liez a une<sup>4</sup> estache, et que l'en le<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> omitted.

<sup>2</sup> seriez.

<sup>3</sup> quil.

<sup>4</sup> un.

<sup>5</sup> omitted.

mist en une cisterne, et le fist l'en tres bien esclorre, et que l'en n'i lessat homme aler. Mes li<sup>1</sup> angle Nostre Seignor vint et le conforta. Quant vint troiz jourz apres, le roy fit aler a la cisterne pour savel que il estoit devenu, et trova l'en Monseignor Saint George, ou il aüroit Nostre Seignor. Et la furent mot de gienz convertiz. Lors vint Saint George davant le roy, si li dit: Ha, faux roy mescreant, ne voys<sup>2</sup> tu pas le pouair de Jhesu Crist, et commant il (f. 221 r) m'a rendu la vie, pour demonstrier sa puissance. Lors commanda le roy que l'en preist Monseignor Saint George, et que l'en l'etendit de travers, et le metre<sup>3</sup> desouz une meule grande et pesante. Lors fut mis en ycellui torment. Et quant vint a la mynuit, Nostre Sires li rendi la vie et ce fut sa seconde mort. L'andemain a matin vint davant le roy. *Cil*<sup>4</sup> se merveilla molt, et *li dit*<sup>5</sup>: Ne te fis ge pas lier et morir? Et Saint George respondi: Je ay receu et mort et martire ii foys pour vous, faux roy et desleal. Quant le roy vit ce, si fut moult courciez et com-(f. 121 r) manda feire un grant feu, et fit metre Saint George dedanz. Et quant il fut tout ars, si fit venter la poudre au vent, et ce fu la tierce mort. Adonc retournerent les giens a la cité. Et quant vint la mynuit Nostre Sire par son comandement fit rasambler la cendre, et revint Saint George en vie. Quant vint l'endemain,<sup>6</sup> Saint George vint davant le roy et dit: G'ey receu mort et martire pour<sup>7</sup> vous, roys mescreanz, par iii foys. Adonc fut le roy molt merveillés, et le fit metre en prison chies une povre famme et comanda que no(f. 222 r)n eust que mangier. Et quant il ot jeuné iiiii jours et quatre nuiz, il demanda a la famme, si elle aveit que mangier, et la famme *li dit*<sup>8</sup> que nanil. Quant Saint George vit ce, il depria Nostre Seignor, que il li enveyast aucune chose a mangier, et Nostre Sire fit par son commandement reverdir une estache qui soutenoyt l'ostel, et porter fruit. Et Saint George print le fruit et le mange, et en donna<sup>9</sup> a la famme et a son filz, et touz furent repeuz et soulez du fruit. Quant vint un grant temps apres, le roy passa par delez celle meson (f. 222 v) et vit le miracle et demanda que ce estoit. Et l'en dit, que ce estoit la meson, ou il aveit fet metre Saint George en prison, et que Dieux aveit fet cez vertuz pour luy. Adonc le fit metre hors de la prison et mener ou lui. Si que il passoiert un boys, qui estoit sans feuilles, et le roy li dit, que se il pouayt reverdir le boys, il creireit<sup>10</sup> a son Dieu. Et Saint George crie a son Dieu, et fet sa priere a Nostre Seignor, et tantot le boys reverdit, et porta feuilles et flours chacun en sa nature. Adonc dit (f. 223 r) le roy: George, ge voy bien que voz enchanteries<sup>11</sup> sont grandes, mes<sup>12</sup> ge ay encore un meilleur enchantour. Lors fit le roy mander ses enchenteurs et leur commanda que ils feissent, acune apertise davant li. Adonc li un fit amener un beuf, et li soufle en l'orrelle, et cil beuf devint deux. Quant li roy vit ce, si en ot molt grant joie, et

<sup>1</sup> lui.<sup>2</sup> voy.<sup>3</sup> mestre.<sup>4</sup> omitted.<sup>5</sup> omitted.<sup>6</sup> lendemin.<sup>7</sup> po.<sup>8</sup> omitted.<sup>9</sup> don.<sup>10</sup> creiret.<sup>11</sup> echanteries.<sup>12</sup> me.

demanda a Saint George se il sauroyt feire nulles si belles apertises. Et Saint George respondit nient. Adonc li anchenteur<sup>1</sup> *dit*,<sup>2</sup> que il le feroit parler, et print un hanap plein de venim, et le fit (f. 223 v) boivre afin de l'ocire. Saint George print le hanap plein de venim, et le but, et le signa, et ne mua onques coulour, ne ne li fit point de mal. Quant li anchenteur<sup>3</sup> vit ce, si li cria: Merci, et s'agenoilla davant lui, et fut sauvé<sup>4</sup> par cest miracle, et d'autres<sup>5</sup> gienz. Quant le roy vit ce, si fut merveillés molt et li dit: Si tu vuenlz croire en mon dieu, ge te feroye seigneur de toute ma terre. Et Saint George si pensa un poy et puis si dit, que l'en le menat davant les ydoles. Et cuida, que il dit verité, et le fit (f. 224 r) tantot mener. Quant Saint George vint davant les ydoles, s'ecria de par Nostre Seigneur, que les ydoles fussent toutes depecées, et maintenant elles cheirent a terre, et la terre ovri et les transgloti et les gienz mescreanz. Adonc fut la raine convertie, a laquelle Saint George dit: Diex vous ayt receue en son paradis. Quant le roy vit ce, si doubta molt, que touz ne convertissent a Saint George, si commanda que l'en print Saint George et la raine, et que ils fussent menez<sup>6</sup> hors de la cité, et que l'en leur tran- (f. 224 v) chat les testes. Et ils furent menez.<sup>7</sup> Adonc ils trancherent la teste a la royne davant luy. Et Saint George dit: Je vous pri, que vous me lessiez un poy feire ma priere, et cil si firent. Adonc il pria: Dieux Jhesu Crist, qui portates deité au peuple qui crurent en vous, je vous requier, que vous oyés ma priere et que vous pour celx qui vous prieront en non de moy en quelque lieu que ils soient, soient en mer, soient en terre, soient davant seignor, que vous les delivres de touz perilz et de leur pechiez (f. 225 r). Encore vous pri ge, que tous celx et celles, qui porteront ma vie et ma passion en escrit de bon cuer et de bone volanté, soient en bataille, soient aillours, que vous leur donez la vitoire, soit sur sarrazins soyt sur crestiens. E quant Saint George ot fete<sup>8</sup> sa priere, il dit a celuy qui teneyt l'espée tranchant: Or puis tu feire ta volanté. E cil li tranche la teste. Or est acompli son martire. Et les giens tournerent a la cité. Adonc vindrent celx, qui estoient crestiens et prindrent le benoit corps (f. 225 v) Saint George, et le porterent ou eulx et l'ensevelirent desoulz une lampe, et fesoient ceste chose chacun jour acostumement, jusques a tant que le roy mescreant fut mort, qui aveit non Pallion,<sup>9</sup> qui fit martiriser Saint George. Adonc aprint la creance Nostre Seigneur et dous reys qui furent gueriz et comanderent feire une eglise u non Monseigneur Saint George en la cité de Capadoce, e une autre en la cité de Palestine, et moult d'autres yglises, qui furent feites en l'ennor de Monseigneur Saint George qui fut martirez au<sup>10</sup> 23 jour d'avril, auquel jour chacun<sup>11</sup> des crestiens en font grant feste chacun an. Si prions Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist si vraie-

<sup>1</sup> achenteur.<sup>2</sup> omitted.<sup>3</sup> achenteur.<sup>4</sup> saue.<sup>5</sup> autre.<sup>6</sup> menz.<sup>7</sup> menz.<sup>8</sup> feste.<sup>9</sup> Evidently a deterioration of the name Apollo.<sup>10</sup> Ms. indistinct.<sup>11</sup> Ms. very indistinct.

ment comme il tendit ses bras en la croix pour nous delivrer des poines d'enfer, que il nous doint feire tel servise, que nous soyons delivre de tous perilz, et nous doint ses benoiz martirz. Oremus, Deus, qui nos beati Georgii martiris tui meritis et intercessione letificas, concede propicius, ut<sup>1</sup> ejus beneficia possimus dono tue gratie consequi.<sup>2</sup>

The text contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5278, fo. 66 r–66 v of the XIII century is of similar interest.

*Incipit.*—Datianus imperator congregavit (*sic*) sexaginta duobus regibus et senatoribus et militibus, quorum non erat numerus; sedens pro tribunali dixit ad beatum Georgium. . . .

The version relates quite fully the initial tortures of the martyr before the appearance of Athanasius, as told in O, so that its line of descent must also have been independent of Y and Z. However, the story is seriously abridged, and the final decapitation follows immediately afterwards.

The same is true of another short version contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. Acq. 2179, fo. 157 v–158 v of the XI century.

*Incipit.*—In temporibus illis facta est persecutio adversus christianos et ecclesiam Dei, et quum excitasset diabolus regem quendam nomine Datianum. . . .

Here also the initial tortures are related in accordance with O, though not entirely in agreement with the last manuscript cited, for the burial on the mountain (O 12) and the conversion of Alexandrina (O 13) are included. But here also we have an abridgment of O independent of Y and Z.

The text contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 3789, fo. 7 r–10 r of the XI century is of a different nature, inasmuch as the story of the martyrdom is completely changed and the death of the saint localized in Spoleto in Italy.

*Incipit.*—Temporibus Diocletiani et Maximiani imperatorum talis furor a sacrilegio exardescbat per cunctam Italiam, ut una esset apud omnes idolorum cultura, et si quis non prostratus idolis immolaret, penis diversis cruciaretur. Erat autem quidam vir impiissimus, Flaccus nomine, quem Maximianus imperator direxerat, ut omnia idola erigeret.

<sup>1</sup> ut qui.

<sup>2</sup> consequamur.

Flaccus comes to the city of Spoleto (cumque introisset civitatem Spolitanam) and orders a large concourse of the inhabitants. When they have assembled, he inquires of Tyrcanus whether they worship the gods. Tyrcanus answers that they serve Jove, Minerva and Asclepius. Flaccus is rejoiced and sends the crowd away.

There lived, however, in Spoleto Georgius, serving God, casting out devils, healing the sick, and breaking the temples of the idols. Tyrcanus hears of his doings. He notifies Flaccus, and thirty soldiers are sent into the city to apprehend George and bring him into their presence. When he appears, he at once confesses his faith and resists the invitation to sacrifice to the gods of Flaccus, whom he declares to be idols. Thereupon the tortures begin.

1 (a). His face is pounded with rocks; (b) his back is broken with rods; (c) his belly is beaten; (d) he is roasted on a grate, and in answer to his prayer an earthquake visits that portion of the city, *que sub monte appellatur*, and more than 300 pagans are killed. Flaccus flees in terror, but Tyrcanus orders George to be put into chains and placed in prison. There an angel of God appears to him and comforts him, while his fetters fall to the ground.

2. On the following day Flaccus has his throne carried into the midst of the forum and George is led before him again. After a renewed refusal to sacrifice to the idols, (a) he is beaten with iron rods, (b) his sides are tortured with burning torches, (c) he is decapitated in the amphitheatre and upon the command of Tyrcanus his body is exposed to wild beasts. These however adore the saint and do him no harm.

On the same day Flaccus dies, smitten by an angel of God. A Christian woman, by the name of Habundantia, asks for the body of George, which is sold to her for thirty-five pieces of gold, and she buries it near the bridge and stream called *Sanguinari*, outside of the city walls, on the 22nd of April (*ante decem dies kalendarum majarum*).

I add some further indications concerning a few additional versions, which I have not been able to inspect. I feel some hesitancy in adding these notes, since I can lay no claim to completeness. Continued search in catalogues and other libraries would doubtless bring to light many additional accounts.

Namur, MS. 2 of the XIV century, published in part, *Anal. Boll.*, I, pp. 615-617.

*Incipit.*—*After a general introduction.*—Erat igitur quidam rex paganorum, nomine Datianus, qui diabolica ambitione arreptus omnes quas potuit provincias suae ditionis imperio subdidit. . . .

The text as far as published shows close verbal agreement with that contained in Za.

Rouen, MS. 1412, fo. 73-75 (date?).

*Incipit.*—Sub persecutione Datiani venit de Capodocia miles Georgius. . . .

Orleans, MS. 330, fo. 10-13 (XIV-XV centuries).

*Incipit.*—Tempore illo sanctus Georgius aspiciens. . . .

*Ibid.*, MS. 331, fo. 355-359 (X century).

*Incipit.*—In illis diebus cum sanctus Georgius. . . .

Lille, MS. 449, fo. 152-155 (date?).

*Incipit.*—Datianus imperator diabolica dominatione. . . .

Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 380-382, fo. 14 r-16 v (XV century), published in part, *Anal. Boll.*, III, pp. 204-206.

*Incipit.*—Tempore illo Dacianus imperator qui fuit persecutor christianorum et ecclesiarum dei cum tribunis et militari manu misit ad omnes potestates quae in regione ejus erant, ut convenissent in civitatem quae dicitur Militena. . . .

The texts mentioned *Anal. Boll.*, IV, p. 283 (Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 831-834, fo. 192 v-195 v) and *ibid.*, VI, p. 271 (Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 9119, fo. 120-121) seem to be closely related to it. All these appear to be variants of Ye.

Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, MS. E. 22 Inf., fo. 33 r-35 v (XI century); cp. *Anal. Boll.*, XV, p. 303.

*Incipit.*—Imperante igitur impio Datiano Medorum et Persarum diversisque erga regiones civibus suggerente diabolo, facta est ingens in christianos persecutio. . . .

## METRICAL VERSIONS.

### A. *French Versions.*

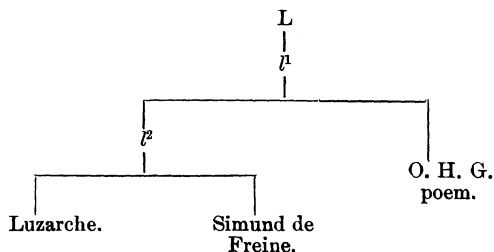
#### 1. *The poem published by Luzarche.*<sup>1</sup> (A.)

The authorship and source of this poem is the subject of a lengthy article by Weber in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, v, pp. 498–520, but it will be unnecessary to enter into a discussion of his argument, since the material at his disposal was insufficient to enable him to reach trustworthy conclusions.<sup>2</sup> Our own extensive list of texts will allow us to define the position of this poem which, following Weber's example, we shall continue to call A, more accurately, though we have not succeeded in finding its immediate source.

The poem belongs to the versions of family Y. It has the order of incidents and wonders characteristic of those texts. After the first appearance of the martyr the tortures begin immediately with his death on the wheel.

<sup>1</sup>*La vie de la vierge Marie . . . suivie de la vie de Saint George*, Tours, 1859.

<sup>2</sup>Weber compares this poem with that of Simund de Freine, with the O. H. G. poem, and with G, the only one of the apocryphal versions known to him, which he calls L. The following is a tabulation of his conclusions:



Looking at the story somewhat more minutely, we note in the next place a number of characteristics which attach it quite closely to version  $\mu$  of that group. These features are the following:

1. The omission of the miracle of the gable tree in the incident connected with George's sojourn in the house of the widow.

2. When Dacien demands the miracle of the throne, he says:

xliii sieges fist mes peres  
D'arbres viaus qui encore aperent,  
Conques, nul jor, fruit ne porterent.  
Face ti Deus que arbres seient  
Li siege, et fruit et foiles aient. (l. c., p. 102.)

The same demand that all the thrones should become fruit-bearing trees, regardless of their original nature, is contained in  $\mu$ ; <sup>1</sup> cp. "ecce quatuordecim throni regni sunt. Ora ergo dominum ut dissolvantur et eficiantur arbores qui fuerunt antea sine fructu nunc cum fructu." In the other versions the original nature of the trees determines whether they bear fruit or not.

3. The name of the queen in  $\mu$  is Alexandria, in A Alexandrie, but Alixandre in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , Alixandrina in  $\gamma$ , Alexandra in  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$  and  $\kappa$ , though Alexandria is found also in  $\delta$  and  $\vartheta$ .

4. In the miracle of the tomb in A and  $\mu$  235 souls are resuscitated. In  $\mu$  the number of years which had elapsed since their death is omitted. The number 200 given here by A is in accord with the majority of the versions of family Y.

5. In A as in  $\mu$  and  $\lambda$  it is George himself who goes into the temple to call out the demon Apollo.

A is, however, not based on  $\mu$  directly. This conclusion results from the following considerations:

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, pp. 505 and 527.



1. The idols of Dacien in A are called Agaba, Rache and Apoloine or Apolin, while in  $\mu$  their names are Mars and Apollo. The faint condition of the ms. at this point makes it impossible to decide what names are given to them in  $\lambda$ . However, similar names are found in the other texts of this family, cp. Gebeel, Apolin and Arrachel in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\delta$  and Gabahel, Apolin and Heracel in  $\gamma$ .<sup>1</sup>

2. The spokesman of those raised to life by the martyr in the miracle of the tomb is called Jobel in A as in  $\epsilon$ . In  $\mu$  the name is presumably Joel, as in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , while  $\delta$  and  $\vartheta$  have Johel. No name whatever seems to occur in  $\lambda$ .

Some further points of difference from  $\mu$  may be due to a free treatment of the story by the author of A :

1. After the martyr's death on the wheel, A makes no reference to Magnentius or his conversion.

2. The table filled with viands is mentioned in all the Latin versions of Y after the widow speaks of her crippled son. In A the order is inverted.

3. In A the widow's child is healed at once of all his infirmities, his lameness included. This feature may have stood in the source of A, but it is also not impossible that it was an innovation of the author. If George enters the temple himself, the appearance of the widow with her lame child becomes a superfluous incident, the original purpose of which has completely disappeared. In consequence he may omit her presence just before the promised sacrifice, and change the story with regard to the healing of her son.

4. Dacien witnesses in person the destruction of his idols, while in the other texts the facts are related to him by priests and attendants.<sup>2</sup>

The conclusion must be that the author of A had before him a Latin text closely allied to  $\mu$  (we may call it  $\mu'$ ),<sup>3</sup> which,

<sup>1</sup> In  $\gamma$  the names of the idols are given once as here, another time as indicated, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> A similar alteration exists in the Anglo-Saxon *Passion of St. George* by Aelfric; cp. below, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above, p. 105.

in the names of Dacien's idols and that of the spokesman Jobel, agreed with the various members of family Y.

2. *The poem contained in Cheltenham, Sir Thomas Phillipps' Library, ms. 3668. (P.)*

The existence of this poem was made known to me through the kindness of Professor Paul Meyer. The manuscript belongs to the end of the XIV century and contains a collection of lives of saints. Our poem is the last but one of the series, the folios of the ms. not being numbered. It is preceded by an illumination representing George killing the dragon, the king's daughter standing by. We shall call the version P.<sup>1</sup>

*Contents.*—After a short introduction and an account of George's fight with the dragon, which is not localized, there follows the story of the passion of the martyr.

1. At that time there were three kings who had sworn to persecute the Christians. These were in consequence sore afraid, and did not dare to confess their faith. The emperor who ruled over that region was called Dacien. He proclaimed a great prosecution, and had an idol made, called Abulon (later Aubulon), to which all were required to offer sacrifice. Then God sent Saint George thither as his messenger, to strengthen the faith of his followers. He appears, confesses his faith publicly, and is at once taken before the emperor, who notes his fine appearance and asks for his name. George complies with the request, and proclaims his faith in Christ. Then follows another reference to George's fine appearance, and promises of riches if he will adore Abulon, which he of course refuses.

2. Dacien in his anger throws a knife at George's breast, which bounds back at his feet. The martyr is then led back to prison, is stretched on the ground in the shape of a cross, and a heavy stone is placed on his breast.

<sup>1</sup> For the full text of the poem cp. below, p. 158.

3. Then follows the torture on the wheel. George is tied upon it and cut in ten pieces. All say that he is now dead, but Christ and his angels come, and he is resuscitated. An angel tells him that he must die three times and then he shall go to paradise. George goes back to Dacien, who is much astonished when he sees him, and a count who is present thereupon confesses his faith in the God of George.

4. He is now led into the house of a widow. When he asks her for bread, she cannot give him any, and he learns then that she adores Abulon. She has a son who is deaf, dumb, blind and lame, and she begs George to heal the child. Upon his prayer the son receives sight, speech and hearing; and more than a thousand, who see the miracle, are converted. George now enters a room, where he finds a table spread for him by angels.

On the following day Dacien sends for him again, and asks him once more by what power he converts his people. Is his God more powerful than Tavergant?

5. Then follows the miracle of the trees. Dacien promises to believe if George will cause to bear fruit certain trees, which had been cut down more than twenty years ago. The martyr performs the miracle to show the power of his God, but Dacien thinks it was done by magic.

6. Dacien now tries blandishment. After a new reference to George's fine appearance, he asks him to sacrifice to his three gods, Appolin, Tavergant and Aubulon. When George feigns a promise, he is beside himself with joy; but the widow arrives and reproves the martyr for forsaking his God. He then heals the child's lameness. More protests from the widow follow, and George enters the place where the idols stand, makes them confess their false nature, and throws them out into the street.

7. Dacien calls for a cauldron filled with water, which is made to boil. George is torn to pieces and thrown into it, but an angel arrives, extinguishes the fire, and resuscitates him. Many that see the wonder believe in God.

8. Among their number is the queen. Dacien tries in vain to persuade her to confess her error. She is suspended by her hair and decapitated. Angels come and receive her soul.

9. Then follows the miracle of the tomb. Dacien promises to believe if George can resuscitate those buried there. The tomb is opened, and the dust, which is found, is brought to George. He prays, and men and women are resuscitated. One of these gives his name as Jouel. They had lived more than 200 years ago, and now beg the martyr to baptize them. George asks for water, but no one responds, whereupon he makes the sign of the cross upon the ground, a fountain bubbles forth, he baptizes the men and women, and sends them away to paradise. Many that see the wonder believe in the God of the Christians.

10. Dacien trembles with fear, and condemns George to immediate execution. Servants lead him without the city and say, whether right or wrong, he must now die the third time. Many follow them to the place where the queen was decapitated. George blesses the crowd, and after a prayer angels come to receive his soul. He is then decapitated. His body is buried in Cappadocia by Christians and a church is erected sacred to his name.

The presence of the story of the fight with the dragon shows influence of the *Legenda Aurea*, which confirms the late date of composition suggested by the age of the manuscript. However, besides the unusual combination of this episode with a member of family Y,<sup>1</sup> the present version contains a certain number of peculiarities which make it probable, that the source for this portion of P is not to be sought in the *Golden Legend*.

The story of the passion, which is the particular subject of our investigation, presents the order of incidents characteristic of the different members of family Y, but it contains

<sup>1</sup> The *Legenda Aurea* contains the fight with the dragon followed by Ze.

at the same time some peculiarities which give it a unique interest.

1. The poem mentions three kings, by which evidently Diocletian, Maximian, and Dacian are meant, though only the latter is mentioned by name. Similarly the geographical names are omitted.

2. The knife which rebounds, when thrown at George's breast, and the stone which is placed upon him, are evidently the counterpart of the lance that bends like lead and the heavy stone upon his breast in the Greek canonical version, § 2.

3. An angel foretells the three-fold death of George, when he resuscitates him after the torture on the wheel.

These features render the placing of P of great difficulty. The first indicates relation to family Z or to the later Greek apocryphal versions; the second points to some Greek version, either canonical or apocryphal, while the third seems to be absent from all but the members of group O. Yet even there it is not found in the corresponding paragraph, but after the first set of tortures, while George passes the night in prison (§ 2), and in C the promise is repeated after the second set of tortures in § 6.

These scattered points of contact are difficult to harmonize with the close resemblance to the version contained in Y $\mu$  for the rest of the story. The order of incidents is identical, and the few additional variations are readily explained as being due to the initiative of the author or his source. Such are the following:

1. The absence of the name of Magnentius, the count converted after the martyr's death on the wheel.

2. The XIV thrones have become trees, felled some twenty years ago.

3. The absence of the name of Alexandria.

4. No number is given of the people resuscitated in the miracle of the tomb.

5. The fact that Dacien bursts his girdle from anger is omitted in § 10 (= Y 11).

6. A cauldron filled with boiling water is substituted for one filled with pitch in § 7.

7. The story of the torture of the queen is much shortened.

On the other hand certain points of contact with A demand close relation of the immediate sources of A and P. These similarities are :

1. The absence of the miracle of the gable tree in the house of the widow.

2. The fact that George enters the temple of the idols himself, without making use of the widow's son.

3. The name Jouel as the spokesman of those resuscitated in the miracle of the tomb.

Upon the basis of these considerations the conclusion seems obligatory that the source of P was closely related to  $\mu'$ ; yet it was not identical with it. No great weight need be laid upon the point of contact with O, noticed above. This feature may derive from the same Greek version which furnished the three kings, the knife which bent, and the heavy stone. The use of three or four texts in the composition of so small a poem as P seems too ambitious a supposition, though it is of course not at all impossible that a cleric should have known several versions of the passion of Saint George. In that case, however, the fusion of the different accounts should be more fundamental than is the case in P. It will be noticed that the three points extraneous to  $\mu'$  stand at the beginning of the passion proper, between it and the story of the fight with the dragon. Under these circumstances it is not impossible, that the author indeed used a text closely similar to  $\mu'$  as the basis of his poem, but being accustomed through the *Legenda Aurea* to see the story of the fight with the dragon united with that of the martyrdom, he practised the same combination here, and the text of the former which he used contained either a complete or incomplete version of the passion, which furnished him with the features foreign to Y.

### 3. *The Vie de Saint George by Simund de Freine.* (SFr.)

This poem,<sup>1</sup> of which only a single copy is known (Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 902, f. 108 v<sup>a</sup>–117 v<sup>a</sup>), was written in England during the last years of the XII or in the opening years of the XIII century. The author, Simund de Freine, was one of the canons of the cathedral at Hereford. The contents of this version, which we shall call SFr, are as follows:

1. Dacien, the emperor of Rome, calls a great council together in Milette, to devise measures against the Christians. *Thirty-two* kings and many people assemble, and tortures and punishments against the Christians are publicly proclaimed. In their midst appears George, a knight from Cappadocia. In a long soliloquy (ll. 96–158) he decides to confess his Christian faith before Dacien, and exhort him to cease the persecution of the Christians. *Then follows a lengthy debate between George and Dacien as to the merits of their gods* (ll. 215–316), *which ends with an invitation to George by Dacien to believe in the true God.* When the martyr promises to do so, Dacien wants to kiss him from joy, but George pronounces a renewed confession of his faith in the triune God (ll. 336–421). The king is now exasperated and the tortures commence (ll. 1–429).

2 (a). George is made to sit on a wooden horse, *weights of iron and lead are attached to his feet, and a fire is kindled under him. He is stabbed with lances, poison is poured into his wounds, and his body is scraped, but all these tortures do him no harm.* (b). He is taken from the wooden horse and beaten; twenty-four wounds are opened in his body, and they are rubbed with salt; *his feet are pierced so that the blood runs from the wounds as water from a fountain;* but he feels no pain. (c). Finally he is led to prison. During the night God appears to him surrounded by a brilliant light.

<sup>1</sup>An edition of this poem as well as of the *Roman de la Philosophie* by the same author, prepared by the writer, has been accepted for publication by the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*.

He tells him to be courageous, that he is to suffer much, and receive death three times, but after the fourth death he shall enter paradise (ll. 430-498).

3. On the next day follows the torture on the wheel. George is wounded in many places, he dies, and his body is thrown into a well. Soon after, God and the archangel Michael appear in a cloud, accompanied by an earthquake. Michael gathers the bones of the martyr, God makes the sign of the cross over them, and George is resuscitated. Immediately he returns into the presence of Dacien, who will not believe that he sees George, but many of those that are present accept the evidence (ll. 499-568).

4. A pagan by the name of Magnacius now confesses himself ready to believe in God, if George can change XIV thrones, standing there, into fruit-bearing trees. The martyr performs the miracle, and *Magnacius abjures Apolin and Tervagant, and receives baptism together with more than a hundred others* (ll. 569-594).

5. Dacien now commands a magician to be sought, by the name of *Anastasius*. To show his power the latter has an ox split in twain, and then he joins the two halves and brings the ox to life again. He then prepares *one* poisonous potion and offers it to George. When he drinks it without experiencing any harm, Anastasius accepts the true faith, is baptised and forthwith executed. Angels receive his soul and carry it to heaven (ll. 595-646).

6. The tortures continue. (a) Sixty nails are driven into the martyr's head without causing him any harm; (b) his head is sawed in two; (c) he is thrown into a cauldron filled with boiling pitch. When the body is completely dissolved, *the contents are poured away*. Michael arrives, gathers up the bones and fragments, Christ blesses them, and George is again resuscitated. *Many of those who see the wonder believe in God. George strikes the earth with his foot, water bubbles forth, and he baptises 500 of them. All go at once to find the*



*emperor and confess their faith, but Dacien maintains that George performs his miracles through magic* (ll. 647-725).

7. He is now led into the house of a poor widow. She welcomes her guest, but when George asks her for bread, she is forced to confess her poverty. Upon his question she tells him that she adores Apolin, and George tells her then that that is the reason of her poverty. She goes out to borrow some bread of her neighbors, and during her absence her hut grows double in size, and the gable fork gains 12 feet in height and becomes a flowering tree. Within a table is spread with a white cloth and set with meat and drink. When she returns, she believes George must be a god, and she falls at his feet. She now speaks to him of her son, who is deaf and dumb, blind and lame. If George will heal him, they will both be baptized. He cures him of all his infirmities except his lameness, telling the widow that she will understand his reason later. Both are then baptized (ll. 726-827).

8. A woman now appears, who relates that on that morning one of her two oxen has fallen and broken his neck. Now her field must lie waste and she has no other means of subsistence. George prays, then gives her his stick to lay on the animal, and the ox is brought back to life (ll. 828-863).

9. Dacien now sees the wonder of the gable fork. He arrives upon the scene, and in answer to his question George tells him that all this had been done through the power of the true God, and that his god is an empty idol. Dacien offers riches and preferment, if George will sacrifice to Apolin. When the martyr seems to make this promise, the emperor, full of joy, wishes to kiss him, but George does not permit him. The widow appears now with her lame child, and chides him for forsaking his God. He is rejoiced at the speech of the woman, gives the child the power to walk; *then he goes himself into the temple*. Two thousand and five hundred persons accompany him. He speaks to the idol, forces it to show its hideous appearance, and to confess its

lack of power. Then he strikes the earth with his foot; it opens up, and the idol is sent to the abyss. Finally he breaks all the other images. Dacien is beside himself with anger, and orders new torments (ll. 864–1121).

10. Torches are applied to George's body and he is burned to ashes. These are carried to a high mountain and there exposed, so that the ravens may eat what remains of his body. But God has promised to resuscitate him thrice, and he fulfills his promise. Many of those who see the miracle accept the Christian faith (ll. 1122–1167).

11 (a). Dacien now orders iron boots to be heated and to be put on the martyr's feet, but an angel of God watches over him and keeps him from suffering pain. (b). *He is then thrown into a den filled with wild beasts, lions, leopards, wolves, wild boars, and dragons, but these do him no harm* (ll. 1168–1215).

12. When queen Alisandrine sees this, she too confesses Christianity. Dacien reasons with her, but she remains firm. He orders her to be hung up by the hair, and her body to be beaten. She begs George for baptism. He holds out his hands to heaven and prays. Rain drops from a cloud, and he baptizes her with the water thus obtained. Then she is led to execution and angels bear away her soul (ll. 1216–1364).

13. Dacien now says he will still pardon George, if he will raise to life some dead bodies buried there. The tomb is opened, and nothing but ashes is found within. After a long prayer and an answer from heaven, five men, nine women, and three children are resuscitated. They kneel before George and beg him not to send them back to their place of torment. One of them, whose name is Joel, relates that they had worshiped Apolin more than 200 years ago, and describes the hell where they had been since then. George baptizes them and they depart to paradise (ll. 1365–1525).

14. Dacien is now so irate that he bursts his girdle and falls from his throne. He decides that George's pride must come to an end, and pronounces his death-sentence.

Servants lay hold of the martyr, a bit is placed in his mouth, and he is led to the place of execution, where Alisandrine had died. After a long prayer he is decapitated, and angels carry his soul to heaven. *Noble men of the city bury his body at night in the church, where many have since found balm for their sufferings* (ll. 1526–1684).

15. The emperor and his suite and the servant who had placed the bit in the martyr's mouth are all destroyed by fire from heaven. All go to hell, but George finds his place in paradise (ll. 1684–1710).

The poem of Simund de Freine gives the complete account of the Passion of Saint George, as it was contained in the oldest versions, G, Sg, and C; and the incidents which it relates are in the main the same as those told there. Yet there are certain serious differences which show that SFr cannot derive directly from these versions or from their sources. It agrees with G in regard to the outcome of the trick practised by Athanasius upon the ox,<sup>1</sup> though here only one ox is called for by the magician, while in G he demands two. SFr agrees with Sg in the number of poisonous cups prepared by the magician. In G and C George is forced to drink two deadly potions, but only one in Sg and SFr. When George enters the widow's hut (§ 7), the gable fork grows fifteen cubits in height in G, C, and S, but only twelve in Sg and SFr. In the miracle of the tomb (§ 13) the number of those resuscitated in SFr agrees with G, but the name of the spokesman (Joel) agrees with S and the different texts of family Y.

The most important difference, however, between our poem and the members of family O lies in the order in which the various incidents of the account are related. If we give to the different paragraphs of SFr the numbers which the same incidents bear in O, we shall have the following order: 1, 2, 5, 7, 4, 6–8, 11, 9, 14, 12, 2c, 15, 10, 16, 17. This order differs from that of all the other versions which we have

<sup>1</sup>Cp. *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xvii, pp. 469 and 476–477.

examined, though it approaches somewhat that of the texts of Y. The same incidents, less those which are absent, are found there in the order: 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 7, 13, 14, 8 (?), 15, 10, 17. It is evident that SFr agrees with Y towards the end, that is to say, beginning with the death of the queen. In Y alone does the miracle of the tomb stand after the death of the queen, and also there alone is it related that Dacien bursts his girdle from anger and falls from his throne.

SFr is thus placed midway between C, G, and Sg on the one hand and S and Y on the other. It must, therefore, derive from a lost member of family O, where all these different traits were united. Two explanations are possible to account for the appearance of the legend in its oldest form in England at the end of the XII century. Either we have to do with a Latin version parallel to G and Sg, known in Europe for centuries, but of which no trace has been found so far, or we have to accept a new importation into the West of the apocryphal form of the legend as the result of the crusades. Everything seems to speak in favor of the second of these suppositions. Tradition had it that Saint George, the warrior saint, had already led the army of the first crusaders to victory at Antioch<sup>1</sup> and Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The third crusade (1189–1193) had drawn liberally upon English knights, owing to the personal participation of Richard the Lion-hearted. This army in 1191 remained for six weeks at Lydda, where was found the famous church sacred to St. George, and they passed through this village again the following year, when they returned from Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> A few years later the fame of the saint had grown to such proportion that in 1222 the 23d of April, the calendar day of Saint George, was proclaimed a national holiday at Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum libri quinque, publ. by M. W. Stubbs, London, 1889, vol. II, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. La Conquête de Jérusalem, publ. by Hippeau, 1868, II. 5388–5421.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte par Ambroise, publ. by G. Paris, 1897, s. v. Saint Jorge in the Table.

The poem of Simund de Freine appears thus as a natural incident in the development which found its climax in the proclamation by which Saint George became the patron saint of England.<sup>1</sup>

This supposition of a new importation of the legend from the East seems also to give the simplest explanation of the features of this version which I have been unable to duplicate elsewhere. In the analysis, printed above, these have been indicated by italics. Not all are of equal importance, still the following may be cited particularly. The number of kings who answer the call of Dacien is thirty-two. Magnacius is converted and baptized after the miracle of the thrones; this feature is absent in O, and is placed in Y after the martyr's death on the wheel. The name of the magician is Anastasius; this name is adopted also by Vetter in the M. H. G. poem of Reinbot von Durne,<sup>2</sup> but it is found there only as a manuscript variant, and it certainly is not found in any of the other versions that have come to my notice. The incident of the heated iron boots (§ 11) is told in the form of the Greek canonical version (§ 5), while in O (§ 2-c) these boots are filled with sharp nails. The presence of George in the den of wild beasts, which is related in the same paragraph (§ 11) as the torture of the heated iron boots, is altogether unknown in the versions of my collection, unless indeed the short reference to a similar torture pointed out above, p. 110, in the version contained in Bibl. Nat. F. L. 3789 could be taken as an evidence of the existence of this feature in other forms of the legend.

Finally the reference to the burial of the martyr in the church sacred to his memory, where many miracles have taken place (§ 14), which is also absent in O and Y, seems a definite indication that the story had been collected by Westerners who had visited the famous church of the saint at Lydda.

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars in this connection cf. below, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. below, p. 137.

B. *German Versions.*1. *The Old High German poem on Saint George.* (O. H. G.)

The transmission of this poem, as is well known, is the worst imaginable. The single copy of it which has come down to us, in the Otfrid manuscript at Heidelberg, was made from memory<sup>1</sup> by a scribe by the name of Uuisolf, who knew his poem badly and German worse, who made countless errors of all sorts, and who finally, when he had reached the limit of his possibilities, threw his pen down in disgust, exclaiming "nequeo." These facts render the poem suspicious, and make it legitimate to look for errors likely to be committed under such conditions, such as errors of transposition, omission, or repetition.

It cannot be the purpose of the present study to attempt to solve all the many difficulties which this text presents; that must necessarily be the duty of Germanic scholars. It is evident, however, that the problems to be solved are twofold. On the one hand the story of the poem must be brought into harmony with the general tradition of the legend, and on the other the form of the poem must be definitely established. It is also manifestly proper that the story should be fixed first. At any rate, where the problem has been attacked from the opposite side, the story has been twisted and turned in a way to destroy the distinctive features of the legend. Such had been the method of Lachmann<sup>2</sup> and Haupt,<sup>3</sup> and we shall certainly be pardoned for not entering into a discussion of their results, which have now been uniformly rejected.

<sup>1</sup> Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I-2, p. 95, accepts as an alternative the possibility that the copy was made from dictation. In that case the person dictating recited from memory. On no other supposition can the errors in the order of the lines be explained.

<sup>2</sup> Köpke's *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter der Herrschaft Otto's*, I, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Haupt, *Berichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1854, pp. 501 ff.

The study of the poem was turned into the right direction by Zarneke in his study published in the *Ber. d. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Leipzig*, 1874, pp. 1 ff. Compared with the work of his predecessors, Zarneke's method is characterized by great conservatism. He studies all the other versions of the legend accessible at his time, accepts the order of lines of the manuscript in the great majority of cases, sees refrains in the repeated lines, and constructs a poem having five strophes of four lines, two strophes of five lines, one strophe of six lines, besides a fragmentary strophe and refrains of one or three lines. In this form the poem appears in Braune's *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 138. The irregularity of this arrangement was criticised by Scherer in *Z. f. d. A.*, XIX, pp. 104 ff. It was denied that the repeated lines are refrains, the mixture of strophes of four, five, and six lines was shown to be altogether unknown in Old High German, and it was maintained that the only mixture that could be accepted was that of strophes of two and three lines.

Here the matter rested for some time. In the third edition of Müllenhof and Scherer's *Denkmäler* (1892), pp. 35 ff. Steinmeyer printed the poem, with the exception of some slight changes in the last strophe, practically with the order which the lines have in the manuscript. The repetitions are not treated as refrains, but are incorporated in the strophes of varying lengths, into which the poem is broken.

The last to study the question in detail was Kögel in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, I-2 (1897), pp. 95 ff. He rejects the refrains, accepts Scherer's suggestion that the poem might have been written in strophes of two or three lines, and divides the text accordingly. As to the order of the lines he follows the manuscript throughout, allowing only one variation, viz., the inversion of ll. 19 and 20, already demanded by Zarneke, *l. c.*, p. 3, "aus massgebenden metrischen Gründen."

My opinion could be of no value with regard to the metrical form of the poem. The solution of that problem

must remain the task of those especially fitted to undertake it. However, from the general point of view of the tradition of the legend, I do not hesitate to maintain that the problem must not be attacked on this side. On account of this wrong method Kögel is led to give wrong interpretations to several lines and in several instances he introduces features into the legend which are entirely foreign to it. The text must be studied first with reference to its contents, and when that study has given a satisfactory story, then the task of dividing the poem into strophes may be undertaken. The method will be to accept the order of the manuscript whenever it is possible to do so. As a matter of fact, the instances of transposition are few, but they are evident to anyone who will compare closely the form which the legend has in the various versions which are now at our disposal.

A passage which is certainly wrong in the manuscript, but which can be definitely corrected, occurs in ll. 31–41. Not counting the jubilation (ll. 34–36), the text as given in the manuscript contains three sets of lines, relating the following incidents: (1) George is bound upon a wheel and cut in ten pieces, ll. 31, 32, 33; (2) he is ground to powder and burned to ashes, ll. 37, 38; (3) he is thrown into a well, which is then filled up with stones, ll. 39, 40, while the crowd dances about and calls upon the saint to rise, l. 41. The jubilation divides the story into two incidents, (1) the death on the wheel, (2) the death by burning to ashes; and this general division is in agreement with O, the former being related in O, § 5, the latter in O, § 8, with some slight variations, to which it would be wrong to attach too great importance. Now Zarneke placed l. 41 after l. 32, *i. e.*, after the mutilation on the wheel, but he left ll. 39–40 where they stand in the manuscript, so that the story was made to relate (1) that George was cut into ten pieces, and the crowd danced about him and called upon him to rise, which was followed by the jubilation; (2) that he was burned to powder, and the powder thrown into a well. Kögel and Steinmeyer, on the other



hand, accept the order of the manuscript without change. The story in that case does not differ from Zarncke's arrangement, but Kögel finds himself called upon to add a note, *l. c.*, p. 101, that *pulver* in O. H. G. could be masculine, and that *en*, l. 39, refers to it. There can be no question, however, unless we are ready to accept an entire remodeling of the story, and a freedom in handling it which is not evident in any of its older forms, that the incident of the well should follow immediately after the mutilation on the wheel, and that the order of lines should be 31, 32, 33, 39, 40 (cp. O, § 5), followed by the jubilation. Line 41 may remain where it stands in the manuscript, giving the order 37, 38, 41, followed by the succeeding jubilation. However, as far as the story is concerned, there would be no objection to transposing it together with ll. 39 and 40.

Lines 47-50 Zarncke interpreted as having reference to Tacianus' idol, but this is evidently a wrong interpretation. The incident referred to is the miracle of the tomb (O, § 10), as was correctly seen by Kögel, *l. c.*, p. 102, and Vetter, *Der Heilige Georg des Reinbot von Durne*, p. lxii.

If these variations from the order of the manuscript are accepted, everything is fairly clear in the story, with the exception of ll. 12-15. According to the reading of the manuscript it would seem that George was visited in his prison by angels, and by two women, whom he feeds. But ll. 17-20, which follow, contain an evident reference to the incidents in the widow's house and the miraculous growth of the gable fork. Kögel misinterprets this passage completely, *l. c.*, p. 104. Lines 19 and 20, which relate that George made the blind to see, the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the deaf to hear, he understands as referring to a general miracle of the saint in prison, and the pillar or stump which had stood there many a year, and which is made to bear leaves, also remains dark to him. Now there can be no question that the blind, lame, deaf, and dumb is one person, namely, the widow's son, and that the pillar is the gable fork

of the widow's hut described in O, § 11. To give another interpretation to these lines, as Kögel attempts to do, means rejecting the evident meaning and burdening the study of the poem with useless difficulties. This interpretation also gives the clew to the identity of the two women mentioned in the text, l. 14. These evidently represent the widow (O, § 11) and Schollastica (O, § 9). That both should appear in the house of the widow is at variance with the story as told in G, Sg, and C, but it agrees with the source of Simund de Freine's poem,<sup>1</sup> where it is also related (ll. 828-863) that a second woman, though the name is absent, implores the aid of the martyr, while he is imprisoned in the house of the poor widow. I can see, therefore, no difficulty in ll. 14-22. To be sure, the order of the individual steps in this incident is somewhat irregular. Usually the miracle of the gable fork precedes the healing of the widow's son. It is this evidence of her guest's miraculous power which impels the woman to pray for the healing of her child. This order of the original story could easily be restored by placing l. 21 after l. 15. It will be noted that ll. 22 and 16 are identical, and it would not be impossible that the scribe had confused the order, misled by this similarity, as he had done in the passage just discussed.

It follows that a pause in the story must be accepted between ll. 13 and 14. In the passage just preceding (ll. 12-13), the first incarceration of George is related after his initial appearance before the emperor. Kögel and others refer *dhar*, l. 14, as relating to the prison, so that it seems to follow that the two women were in the prison where George was thrown. But this interpretation is entirely out of keeping with the usual form of the story. I am inclined, if a simple pause with implied change of scene between ll. 13 and 14 seems too forced an interpretation of the manuscript reading, to admit an omission of two lines in the place in question, in which the appearance of God and his promise to aid George

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above, p. 122.

in his suffering was further described in accordance with the account of O, § 2.

If this arrangement of the text is accepted, everything is fairly clear in the poem. The evident similarity of the opening lines 1-12 with the story as told in O has been sufficiently elucidated by Kögel. Also the appearance of the angels in the prison (l. 12) need cause no surprise. Though angels are not mentioned in O, § 2, yet God is usually accompanied by them when he appears to mitigate the suffering of the martyr, and the author may have elaborated this feature from the data of his Latin source; cp. Kögel, *l. c.*, p. 104.

As far as the story is concerned we should then have the following order of incidents:

1. Appearance of George (ll. 1-11).
2. George in prison (ll. 12-13).
3. George in the house of the widow, with a reference to Schollastica (ll. 14-22).
4. First death of George by decapitation (ll. 23-30).
5. The torture on the wheel and second death (ll. 31-33, 39-40, 34-36).
6. George burned to ashes, and third death (ll. 37-38, 41-45).
7. The miracle of the tomb (ll. 46-50).
8. George in the palace with Elossandria, and her conversion (ll. 51-57).
9. George in the temple (ll. 58-59).

Of these incidents the first death by decapitation cannot be duplicated from the material at my disposal. I have here accepted the usual interpretation of ll. 26-27, though the meaning does not seem to me very evident. The two lines:

Hiez er Gorjen fâhen, hiez en ûz ziehen,  
Hiez en slahen harto mit wunter wasso swerto

seem to me to suggest the tortures related in O, § 12, particularly in the form given to them by Sg, quite as readily as death by decapitation.

Compared with O the incidents occur here in the following order: 1, 2, 11 (+ 9), 12, 5, 8, 10, 13, which proves that the author of the poem handled the story rather freely. The fact that George passes the night in the palace, where he improves the occasion by converting Elossandria, which is not found in Y or Z; nor in the poem of Simund de Freine, connects the O. H. G. text with G, Sg, and C, and with the source of Reinbot. On the other hand the introduction of the widow and Schollastica in the same incident, if my interpretation is correct, and the immediate complete healing of the widow's son from all his infirmities, which also seems to follow from ll. 19 and 20, presents a slight similarity to the source of Simund de Freine. None of the versions known so far can, therefore, be the immediate source of the O. H. G. text, and we are forced to accept an additional Latin version of the family O, upon which this poem is based.

## 2. *The life of Saint George by Reinbot von Durne.* (R.)

This Middle High German poem, which we shall call R, has lately been edited anew with a long comparative introduction by Vetter, *Der Heilige Georg des Reinbot von Durne*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1896.

*Contents.*—The poem opens with a general introduction relating how Otte, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine, and his wife had given to Reinbot a book containing a life of Saint George, to translate it into German.

The three sons of the Margrave Geori of Palestine, Theodorus, Demetrius, and Geori, whose mother hailed from Antioch after the death of their father, make themselves masters over all the heathen around them. Finally the two older brothers agree to leave the government in the keeping of Geori while they go to Spain, where the recently converted king is closely set upon in the city of Gruns by the king of Munilet, in the land of Marroch. The plan is carried out; the older brothers remain ten years in Spain

and Geori stays at home for some time; then he goes to Kapadocia and overcomes there the Saracens in the land of the Greeks, in the year 290 A. D.

Soon the news of Geori's victories is brought to Diokletianus and Maximianus, contemporaries of Pope Marcellus. At a large concourse of rulers Diokletian then declares that he himself will go to the East, and Maximian to the West, to overthrow the Christian faith. In the meantime Dacian is to hold the reins of government at home, and particularly he is to go at once to Kapadocia to oppose the growing influence of Geori. He accepts readily this command, all the more because Kapadocia is the land of his wife Alexandrina.

The brothers in Spain hear of these preparations, and they decide at once to return to Geori, whom they find in Millene in Kapadocia. He turns over the government to them, Palastin to Diometer, Kapadocia to Theodor, and accompanied by sixty magnificent knights he appears at the court of Dacian.

During the space of a week he astonishes the citizens with his magnificence and hospitality. Dacian himself comes out to welcome him. Then Geori sends his retinue back to his brothers, and accompanied only by his scribe and his page, he appears before Dacian and confesses Christianity. Dacian offers him land and treasures if he will sacrifice to Apollo, and when he refuses, he is thrown into prison, and a large block is placed upon him. During the night Christ appears to him, filling the prison with a bright light, which is noticed throughout the castle, and comforts him.

When Dacian hears of this occurrence, he commands that Geori be brought into his presence, whereupon he accuses him of sorcery. Geori is then beaten with rods, which punishment he receives lying on the ground, stretched out in the shape of a cross.

Geori is now led into the house of a poor widow. The woman thinks he must be an angel, but he tries to teach her that her two gods, Hercules and Apollo, are vain idols. She

goes out to beg some bread for her guest, and while she is gone Geori touches the gable fork of the house, which grows twelve cubits over the roof in height. An angel of God spreads a table for him with bread from heaven. When the widow now returns she believes that he must surely be a god. He supplies her with all kinds of food imaginable from the wonderful tree. Then upon her prayer he heals her son, who is three months old, and blind and crippled. The woman proclaims this miracle throughout the city, and the king and queen, who see the blossoming gable tree from afar, come to adore their god Tervigant, whom they believe to be the author of the wonder. With them come seventy kings, each speaking a different tongue. In vain do they exhort Geori to confess that the heathen gods have done the miracle. In fact the charm disappears as soon as George steps outside of the house.

Geori now promises that if Apollo on the morrow shall cause the sun to rise at eventide, he will sacrifice to him in his temple. Dacian, confident of the result, kisses his head for joy and hands him over into the keeping of his queen, Alexandrina.

The sacrifice is proclaimed for the morrow, and the queen leads Geori to her rooms in the palace. A maiden, singing to the accompaniment of a French *virole*, offers up thanks to Apollo for George's arrival, and the queen, according to the custom of France, her native land, makes him sit down at table by her side in the presence of her husband, while her sister waits on them. When Dacian has left, Alexandrina asks George concerning the nature of the three religions, and he teaches her the main doctrines of Christianity. Then he withdraws to solitude, prays to the Virgin, and the queen appears again, asking for baptism. A cloud descends upon her head, and Geori explains to her that this cloud was sent from heaven as a symbol of her baptism.

On the next day follows the sacrifice in the temple. The widow appears alone, blaming Geori for forsaking his God,

who had done so many wonders for him. The martyr asks her to send her child to court. When he appears, Geori tells him to go to the temple of Apollo and call him out. If he refuses to come, he is to beat him with a stick. The child does as he is bidden. Apollo makes no answer to the first summons; at the second call he roars so loud that everybody flees except Ritschart, the secretary of Geori. As soon as the child strikes the statue, it begins to move in the direction of the court. Dacian accepts this as a wonder of his god, but upon Geori's question Apollo confesses that he is an idol, and finally he appears in hideous shape upon the pedestal. Geori then sends him to the abyss.

Dacian is not willing to accept the evidence, but Alexandrina now confesses her new faith. To avenge this new injury, Dacian condemns Geori to be fastened to a wheel, fitted up with sharp and poisoned swords. The saint prays to God, an angel appears and watches over him, and he passes the night in peaceful slumber upon the revolving wheel. When Dacian appears on the next morning to superintend his burial, Geori wakes up, praises God, and teaches Dacian and the assembled crowd the power of Christianity. Twelve thousand people are baptized through a dew, which falls upon them from heaven, and Dacian orders them all to be executed.

Alexandrina now heaps imprecations upon her husband. He commands her to be suspended by the breasts and tortured, but she exhorts the multitude to accept the true faith. Then Dacian orders her breasts to be cut off, and Geori presses her to his heart, and her breasts grow out again as before. Finally Dacian, on the advice of those present, orders her to be led to execution. Two angels bear her away to heaven.

Dacian now orders Geori to be sawed into four parts, and these to be thrown into a well. Michael appears, accompanied by angels, and resuscitates him.

In the meantime Dacian, believing Geori dead, proclaims a war against his brothers. The martyr suddenly reappears before him, 12,000 heathens are converted, and Dacian, recog-

nizing his inability to overcome Geori before the seven years, which had been prophesied, are ended, now offers him an honorable prison on parole, provided he will remain near him until the return of Diokletian and Maximian. Geori makes the promise on condition that Dacian will not move against his brothers in Palestine. He praises their fortitude and extols their allies, Tschofreit of Salnecke and their uncle of Antioch.

Dacian puts off his intended excursion, and it is proposed that Geori shall entertain the assembled court with a new miracle. He performs the miracle of the tomb; 213 people, large and small, arise, who had been laid there 313 years ago by a sorcerer king. One of their number, by the name of Johel, asks for baptism, which is given them from a spring that bubbles miraculously from the ground. He confesses that they had all served formerly the idol Apollo. After their baptism they are all led by angels to heaven.

The other kings at Dacian's court now organize a festival. To entertain them Geori relates his early victory over the Salnecker, when angels had brought him his white banner with red cross. The Count of Magedon supplements the story by an account of the single combat of Geori against Liberun of Azor and his brother Jabin, and of the final defeat of Tschofreit.

In order to continue the entertainment, Geori is asked to perform a miracle. If he should be able to cause fourteen thrones to take root and bloom, Magedon promises to accept Christianity. The miracle is accomplished, and Magedon with 8,035 others is baptized.

Now follow further tortures. Geori is rolled down a mountain side in a metal ox filled with poisoned arrows, but escapes unharmed. Upon the advice of Athanasius (or Anastasius) the nails of his fingers are pulled out and poisoned arrows are stuck into his wounds. When this also is of no avail, Athanasius confesses Christ and is baptized.

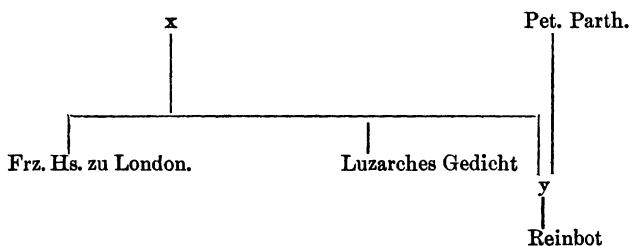
Dacian again asks further particulars of Geori's history.



We are told once more that Geori had been made king of Greece. The reason was his *Tugend*; he had entered the *Tugendburg*, of which a lengthy description is given.

Dacian then commands Magedon and Athanasius to be executed. After further debate with Dacian, and tortures which extend over seven years, Geori is finally decapitated. Fire from heaven consumes Dacian and his companions, but Geori's soul is carried by Michael to heaven.

Vetter words his conclusion with regard to the source of Reinbot's poem as follows, *l. c.*, p. lxxv: "Auf einer Mischredaktion, und zwar auf Peter von Parthenope mit abermalicher Benutzung einer Apokryphe, ruht endlich auch das Gedicht Reinbots von Durne, bezw. seine französische Vorlage." Then he goes on to say that this French source was not the poem published by Luzarche (our A) nor the poem of Simund de Freine. "Dagegen ist diese Vorlage (y), wie namentlich die gemeinsamen Umstellungen zeigen, eng verwandt gewesen mit der Vorlage (x) des Luzarcheschen Gedichtes und der französischen Londoner (und Petersburger) Prosa,<sup>1</sup> und dieses x ist aus einem dem Sg nahestehenden lateinischen Texte hervorgegangen, worin u. a. der Auferweckte den Namen Jobius führte (bei Luzarche Jobel, bei Reinbot Johel)." This filiation he then illustrates by the following diagram:



Then he continues: "Anderseits hatte Reinbot's französische Vorlage aus der Mischredaktion des Peter von Parthenope entnommen: die Jahreszahl 290 und den angeblich gleich-

<sup>1</sup> The version referred to is our Yβ; cp. *Fuchs. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xvii, p. 493.

zeitigen Pabst Marcellus; vielleicht das letzte Gebet Georgs; ferner den Versuch die historischen Kaiser mit dem apokryphischen Dacian zu vereinigen, und die der Apokryphe unbekannte Bekehrung des Magnentius (bei Reinbot Magendon). Diokletian und Maximian stehen bei Reinbot ganz im Hintergrund; Dacian heisst selbst Kaiser; seine Untergebenen sind Könige; Georg heisst neben Markgraf und Graf, Tribun—auch Markts. Die Königin erhält, wie in dem Gedichte Luzarches die Taufe aus einem himmlischen Gewölke. Dem Augenzeugen und Schreiber Pasikrates ist offenbar von der französischen Vorlage ein Franzose Ritschart untergeschoben, ebenso der Königin Alexandrina eine teilweise Abstammung aus Frankreich. Der Gang der Erzählung ist im Ganzen derjenige der Apokryphe; vereinzelte Umstellungen rühren vielleicht auch von Reinbot her, der seine Vorlage ziemlich frei scheint benutzt zu haben."

It will not be difficult to show that these assertions for the most part are entirely without foundation. There is no proof whatever that either R or its supposed French source knew and used PP. With the date of composition of PP (before 1251) accepted by Vetter, and that of R (between 1231 and 1252), there is little time for such circuitous descent, unless it be granted that the ms. of PP was carried to France, before the ink had dried, to be there turned into French, and that this new version was given to Reinbot by Duke Otte with equal celerity. However, this difficulty is removed by the earlier date of composition of PP suggested by the editors of the *Bibl. Casin*, cited above, p. 102. Yet even under these more favorable conditions the indebtedness of R or its immediate source to PP still remains to be proved.

Vetter evidently referred to the text of Petrus Parthenopensis on account of the mention of the name of Pope Marcellus, the date 290 A. D., and the form Millene, as name of the city where the martyrdom took place. Now we have seen above (p. 102) that the agreement is not entirely as Vetter imagines. Only the date is identical in R and some

of the manuscripts of PP, but not all, while the name of the pope in PP is Marcellinus. The name Millene, which corresponds to Mellena in PP, we also found again as Melena in Y $\eta$ . It is evident that these names and the date represent definite manuscript tradition, and the natural conclusion, unless definite proofs were offered of the contrary, would be, that the immediate sources of R and PP received them through the same channels. That this conclusion is the only one that can be maintained, follows from the fact that PP has no other features in common with R, and we are justified, therefore, in rejecting this portion of Vetter's filiation.

As to the actual story of the passion of Saint George in R our conclusions will needs be less definite.

Reinbot's poem begins with a history of George's earlier youth. It mentions the name of his father (Geori), who was count of Palestine, and of his two brothers, Theodorus and Demetrius (or Diometer). His mother is introduced as coming from Antioch. Similarly an earlier history of George with different names and facts is found in the encomium of Theodotus,<sup>1</sup> and inklings of a similar history (his Christian parents and his youth with his mother in Palestine) are also contained in the Greek canonical versions.<sup>2</sup> In explanation of the presence of the names of Theodorus and Demetrius (Diometer) here by the side of that of Geori, Vetter<sup>3</sup> refers to facts cited by Veselófskij, *l. c.*, p. 5, to prove that the three names are commonly joined in Eastern versions of George's life and martyrdom. However, I doubt whether it is necessary to look such a distance for the explanation. In a further chapter we shall cite some of the traditions concerning the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Budge, *l. c.*, pp. 281 ff. His father was governor of Palestine, but the name is not given; elsewhere he is called Anastasius; cp. *ibid.*, p. xviii. In the Greek apocryphal version cited *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xvii, p. 490 (V<sup>2</sup>), the name of his father is Gerontios. His mother's name in the Coptic versions is Kira Theognosta, and two sisters are mentioned, *ibid.*, by the names of Kasia and Mathrôna.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xvii, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Vetter, *l. c.*, p. lxvi, note.

opportune aid furnished by Saint George to the armies of the first and third crusades in their march to Jerusalem. In one of these passages<sup>1</sup> George is accompanied by Demetrius and Theodorus, and the fact that this tradition is related in connection with the capture of Antioch, and that, according to Reinbot's story, the home of the saint's mother was in this city, opens up interesting speculation as to the origin of Reinbot's immediate source. The names of Diocletian and Maximian are found, as we have shown, in the Greek apocryphal versions, and they are common to all the texts deriving from Zc.

After the initial tortures, when God appears to George in prison, R relates that the martyr was thereupon led back to the emperor and beaten a second time. He accepts this punishment, *stretched out in the shape of a cross*. The same fact is related in the Cheltenham poem (P), when he is led back to prison and the heavy block is placed upon his breast. The gable fork in R grows twelve cubits over the summit of the roof, as in Sg (O § 11), while the widow's child is three months old, as in G (O § 11). The empress Alexandrina<sup>2</sup> upon her husband's invitation leads George to the palace, where the martyr converts her to Christianity. This incident occurs elsewhere only in the different versions of O. The torture on the wheel is related by Reinbot in accordance with the Greek canonical versions. An angel from heaven appears and comforts George, who is not harmed. In O and in all the texts of family Y, George is cut into ten pieces and resuscitated, while in the texts of family Z the wheel is broken. In the miracle of the tomb 213 people are resuscitated who have been dead 313 years. The name of their spokesman is Johel. This form of the name occurs in Y ϑ and δ (elsewhere it is Joel, Jonel, Jobel), while the number of souls resuscitated in the different versions of family Y, and the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. below, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Alixandrina in Yγ and Alisandrine in SFr, but Alexandrie in A, Alixandre in Y α, β, Alexandra in Y ε, η, κ, Alexandria in Y δ and ϑ.

number of years elapsed since their death are given as 200 and 200, or 19 and 200, or 14 and 300, or 235, the other number being omitted. The name connects R with S, as was the case for the different versions of Y, while the two numbers represent an individual variation, which also points in the same direction. Finally after the miracle of the thrones Reinbot relates that 8,035 souls were baptized. The same number occurs in Y $\alpha$  after the miracle of the tomb, so that its exact duplication here cannot be due entirely to accident.

The attempt to harmonize these various points of contact must proceed entirely on the basis of theory, but the features which have been pointed out are characteristic and could not be the result of chance. They must have existed in the ultimate source from which R derives. The name Johel, and the large number of souls raised from death, point to the source of S, the age of the widow's child to that of G, and the twelve cubits of the gable fork to that of Sg. We are thus forced to accept another Greek version parallel to the sources of G, Sg, and S, combining these characteristics. This version may have come in contact with the canonical Greek versions, from which the account of the early youth of George was introduced, which was then elaborated in accordance with current Eastern traditions. Under the same influence the torture of the wheel was altered and the other points of agreement with the Greek version were brought in. Then the account was translated into Latin. The translator knew the Western authoritative version contained in Z. He added, therefore, the name of Maximian to that of Diocletian, which he found in his Greek text, though it is entirely possible that he found both names already in his source.<sup>1</sup> He translated further the name Melitena into Mellena, besides adding the name of Pope Marcellus and the date of 290 A. D. It was this version which Petrus Parthenopensis knew and

<sup>1</sup> Both names are mentioned in V<sup>1</sup> of the Greek apocryphal group.

of whose existence we have further welcome evidence in Y $\kappa$ .<sup>1</sup> The order of incidents in Reinbot's poem is seriously altered. This may be due to his own free handling of his material, or it may represent the order of incidents contained in his source. But the most superficial glance at the contents will show how completely without foundation is Vetter's assertion that the changes common to A and R prove an intimate relation between the sources of these two poems.<sup>2</sup>

We have now to face the difficult problem of the immediate source of Reinbot. In the opening lines of his poem he relates that Otte, Duke of Bavaria, and his wife had given him a book containing the life of Saint George with directions to translate it into German. In asking him to do this, they had done exactly as Count Herman of Thuringia, when he gave the French poem of Wilhelm von Naribôn for the same purpose to Wolfram von Eschenbach.

Upon the strength of this statement it is generally maintained that Reinbot translated a French poem now lost, but upon closer inspection it will be seen that the evidence for the existence of this French source is very meager. It should be noted: (1) That Reinbot nowhere says that Otte gave him a French book, while he is particular to mention the original language of Wilhelm von Naribôn;<sup>3</sup> (2) that the whole spirit

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to dwell on the inaccuracies of Vetter's assertions. The name Johel points to S and not to Sg, while the conversion of Magnentius, which, he says, does not occur in the apocryphal versions, is a feature of family Y.

<sup>2</sup> Giving to the incidents of A and R the numbering which the same paragraphs have in O, we should have for A the order: 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 7, 13-14, 8, 13 (?) - 15, 10, 17, 18. In R the same method would give us the following enumeration: 1, 11, 13, 14, 5, 15, 10, 7. All peculiarities of R are left out of consideration in this statement, but it is evident that A and R have nothing in common as far as the order of the story is concerned.

<sup>3</sup> und sprâchen zuo mir: "Reinbot,  
du solt ein buoch tihten  
in tiusche sprâche rihten  
von dem lieben herren mîn,  
dem wir wellen undertaenik sîn,

of Reinbot's poem is anything but French; (3) that the French words in R can all be duplicated from Wolfram von Eschenbach and other MHG. authors; (4) that no such French poem as that demanded for Reimbot's source has been found so far; (5) that Wolfram, Reinbot's great model, cites for his Parzival a French author by the name of Kiot, whose existence is more than doubtful.

Only two features seem to speak for a French source: (1) Reinbot makes Alexandrina of French extraction on her mother's side;<sup>1</sup> (2) George's servant and secretary bears the French name of Ritschart.<sup>2</sup> Both of these features are, however, superficial and external, and fail to have convincing weight. French imitation was the fashion in the courtly literature of the time, and Reinbot is a characteristic exponent of all its tendencies. Had he translated a Latin text, and had he wished, consciously or unconsciously, to give it a French appearance, it is just such clumsy additions as these that he would have practised. Viewed in this light, the

Sant Geôrien, der uns selten ie  
ze dheinen noeten verlie."

ll. 20-26.

von Düringen lantgrâf Herman  
in franzois geschriben vant  
—daz er in tiusche tet bekant—  
von Wilhelm von Naribôn,  
des er hiute hât ze himel lôn;  
er was des buoches urhap,  
wan er die materie gap  
hern Wolfram von Eschenbach;  
swaz er von Wilhelme sprach,  
daz ist von dem lantgrâven komen:  
so wirt di; buoch hie vernomen  
von dem herzogen Otten.

ll. 34-45.

<sup>1</sup>

Capadociâ

dannen Alexandrinâ  
was geborn diu künigin  
und anderhalb ein Franzoisin

ll. 1319-1322.

For the other passage, ll. 2504-2505, cp. below.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. ll. 3266 ff. and ll. 4118-4119.

manner in which the idea of the French descent of the queen might have suggested itself to him seems quite apparent. George has been introduced into her apartments, and Reinbot now describes his reception there in the courtly French fashion then accepted as good form. Some one plays on a French *viole* and a maiden sings to its accompaniment. Alexandrina sits down by his side, and her women and own sister wait on the guest. The emperor compliments him on his good fortune.

“sich mak wol vröuwen iuwer lîp,  
 da3 iu diu keiserin, mîn wîp,  
 sizet alsô nâhen  
 (da3 solde ir wol versmâhen):  
 dâ êret sie iuch, herre, mite;  
 e3 ist der Franzoisaere site,  
 dann' ist mîn vrouwe her geborn;  
 anders waere e3 mir zorn.”

ll. 2499-2506.

As regards the name of Ritschart in the next place, the cause for its introduction seems also fairly apparent on the same basis. If his source supplied him with either Pasocrates or Eusebius, Reinbot may have preferred to omit a name which did not lend itself readily to translation. If, however, and this supposition has a great deal of probability in its favor, his source omitted the name, and yet stated the fact that the account had been written by the servant of George, as is the case, for instance, in *Yc* of our collection, then a French name might readily have come to his pen.

Nothing, therefore, seems to contradict the view which I have tried to defend, viz., that the source of Reinbot was one of the many Latin versions current at his time.<sup>1</sup> The proper names of his poem, in a sense at least, support this view. These fall into two classes: (1) Evident additions of Reinbot, whose French form can furnish no argument for the language of his source, such as *Tschofreit*, *Marsilje*, *Sibille*, *Munilet*, *Gruns*, etc.; (2) those belonging to the story proper. Here it is significant that all have (*a*) either a Latin form as

<sup>1</sup> Germanic scholars may be able to decide whether '*Hie tuot uns die schrift kunt*,' l. 4289, has the appearance of a reference to a French poem.



Dacian, Alexandrina, Theodorus, Demetrius (or Diometer), Jupiter, Anastasius (or Athanasius), or (b) a form which could not be derived from the French, as Geori, Millene (French Militaine or Militainne), Magedon (which seems to agree best with Magentius in S; the French has Magnanties, Manecies, Mananties), Machmet.

I do not undertake to maintain that these arguments are entirely conclusive, but this much, I think, may be safely affirmed, that until more definite evidence for a French source of R has been advanced, careful scholarship will be justified in doubting the accuracy of the present inference.

### C. *The Anglo-Saxon Version of Aelfric.*

This poem has been published at various times; the last edition, as far as I know, was made by Skeat, *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* (*Early English Text Society*), pp. 306-318. The question of Aelfric's source was investigated by Ott, *Ueber die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Aelfric's Lives of Saints*, Halle Diss., 1892, p. 39, but without satisfactory conclusions. He confines himself to noting some similarities to the story given by Vincent de Beauvais, and some differences from that found in the *Legenda Aurea*. Our own material will permit us to be far more definite.

Aelfric's poem relates the story of the passion of Saint George in the form peculiar to family Z, and it is not at all impossible that it was version *a* of that family which he translated. With the exception of a few minor omissions the A.-S. poem is practically a literal translation of this Latin text. The omissions just referred to are the following: (1) The preparations of Datian for the persecution and the causes of George's appearance (*civitatisque sue comitatem gerens*). (2). The joy of Datian when George promises to sacrifice to his idols, and his impulse to kiss the martyr. (3). The passage which seems to demand the conclusion that Datian did not witness the destruction of his idols in person, and that George

after that performance was led back into his presence by servants.

All three are probably mere omissions of the translator. The introductory lines, in which Aelfric states that heretics have disfigured the story of Saint George, but that he will relate the authentic record, show that he was acquainted with the decree of Gelasius, and bear out the assertion, made in an earlier part of this study, that the version of Z was received as authoritative in the West. Our theory, finally, that Aelfric translated a copy of Za is supported by the fact that the British Museum possesses a copy of this version (Nero E. 1) which, according to the catalogue, was written about the year 1000.

The table on p. 148 represents in concrete form the conclusions which this study of the various versions of the passion of Saint George seemed to authorize.

*Saint George as an active figure in Mediæval Tradition.*

There can be no question that Saint George became early one of the favorite saints of the Western church. As early as the year 491 Clotilda, wife of Clovis, king of the Franks, dedicated to his memory the nunnery built by her at Chelles, not a great distance from Paris, while Clovis himself about the same time founded in his honor a cloister at Cambrai. In the VI century Venantius Fortunatus sings the praises of the church of St. George at Mayence. In the same century Gregory of Tours speaks of the relics of the saint, and builds a church in his honor in the neighborhood of Astoux in the diocese of Dax. In the VII century Clotaire III, king of the Franks, erected a chapel in his honor at Noyon in Picardy, and Childeric II, king of Austrasia, founded a monastery of St. George in Alsace, in a valley called afterwards the valley of St. George.

The worship of the saint was carried to England at an early period of its history. During the reign of Canute a



monastery was founded in his honor at Thatford, and during the Anglo-Saxon period a church sacred to his memory existed at Southwark, while the Collegiate Church at Oxford was dedicated to him about the year 1074.

The story of his passion was known in Western Europe during the same early period. Versions G and Sg, though existing in manuscripts of the ix century, were probably turned into Latin before Hieronymus made the vulgate translation of the Bible, and manuscripts of the form of the legend contained in family Z exist as far back as the x century. Of early translations of the legend into the vernacular we have cited the Anglo-Saxon poem of Aelfric and the O. H. G. song of Saint George.

Outside of the direct transmission of the legend proper, very little is on record. We may cite, as of special interest, because written in England, a miracle ascribed to Saint George, and related by Adamnan, bishop of Hy in Scotland, in 679, in his book, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, which he had heard from Arculf, the early traveler. The story relates that a certain man, who seems to have been a soldier, having come to Diospolis on horseback to join a perilous expedition, vowed his horse to the saint in the building associated with his memory, before the marble column bearing his image, if he would protect him and grant him safe return. When he came back, he wished to commute the offering for the payment of a sum of money. Thereupon the saint showed his deep displeasure by causing the animal to become restive, when his owner had mounted to depart, and after several useless attempts and the promise of an additional sum of money, the vow was at length literally redeemed by leaving the horse behind.<sup>1</sup>

There may be added an Anglo-Saxon prayer to the saint found in a martyrology surviving in Cambridge, C. C. C. ms. 196, given, as it would seem, by bishop Leofric to the cathe-

<sup>1</sup> The story is published AA. SS. *Aprilis*, III, p. 144 D, and also Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 88, p. 811.

dral church at Exeter in the XI century, and printed by Hardwick; *An Anglo-Saxon Passion of Saint George*, London, 1850 (Percy Society).

Evidences of a similar nature in regard to the worship of Saint George before the crusades could probably be multiplied through continued research; particularly might references be added from the martyrologies, such as those of Usuardus, Beda, Notker Balbulus, and Hrabanus Maurus, but nothing that could be cited would in any way foreshadow the extraordinary popularity which the saint enjoyed in Western Europe in the centuries following immediately after the crusades.

And it is not difficult to see why the crusades should have given a new impetus to the worship of Saint George. Setting out to face the perils of war, as the crusaders were doing, it was natural for them to place themselves under the protection of those saints whose aid was accepted as of particular efficacy under such conditions, and to single out for that purpose the martyrs who had themselves been soldiers during their lives. Of these 'Georgius, miles egregius, tribunus Cappadociae' was already most famous, but there were others, such as Theodorus, Demetrius, and Mauritius, who were equally fitted to perform this office, and they became without doubt the guardian saints of this expedition from the start.

When the army of the first crusade had arrived in Constantinople, and during the whole of its further journey until the goal was reached at Jerusalem, its members were constantly reminded of Saint George, this saint of saints, to whom they were in the habit of directing their prayers for protection. In Constantinople they saw the splendid church dedicated to his memory by Constantin. To pass over into Asia they crossed the Bosphorus, then known as the Arm of Saint George<sup>1</sup> (Brachium S. Georgii), after the church just spoken of. Their journey on Asiatic soil took them through Nicomedia, where the tenth persecution of the Christians under

<sup>1</sup> Passent le bras Saint Jorge a petite navie.

*Chans. d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris, p. 22.

Diocletian had had its center, and where at least some<sup>1</sup> of the versions of the Passion of Saint George localize his martyrdom. From here their journey took them by way of Nicaea and Dorylaeum to Tarsus. On this march they traversed very probably at least the Western portion of Cappadocia, the home of the saint according to all accounts. When at Tarsus, the army split, and a portion of it moved eastward to Edessa. Here the crusaders found themselves in close proximity to the city of Melitene, the place of his martyrdom in the majority of the Latin and French versions current in Western Europe after the XII century. From Edessa the army passed on to Antioch, and after some delay and final victory there, it continued southward toward Jerusalem. If they halted at Tyre, they might have heard another tradition, which located the martyrdom there, as is the case in the two Coptic encomiums on the Passion of Saint George by Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra,<sup>2</sup> both written probably during the V century. Before reaching Jerusalem the army stopped at Lydda-Diospolis, near which village and half-way between it and Rama or Ramula stood the most famous of all the churches sacred to his memory. Here, according to one tradition, he had passed his youth, and here his disciples and friends had carried his body after his martyrdom, and here Arculf had seen the statue of Saint George, referred to above.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. our version V<sup>1</sup>, published in part by Veselófskij, *l. c.*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Budge, *l. c.*, pp. 237 and 232.

<sup>3</sup> The power of Saint George as a protector in time of war and the fame of this church are spoken of in the French version of his Passion of the XIII century, preserved in the Arsenal Library in Paris, ms. 570.—*Incipit* (fo. 106 r). *C'est la vie et lai passion monsignour Saint Gorge, commant il fut martyriés. Et que chescun hons d'armes lai doit porter sor lui (en) bataille et en autres leus perillous. Car saichies, que lou jour c'on l'auroit lue ou oi (ms. oir) lire, nulz mals ne puet avenir, ne ne puet estre prins (ms. prin) ne vancus (sic) de ses anemins. . . . Et ii rois qui estoient Greus firent (fo. 109 v) dous esglizes en l'onour de monsignour Saint Jorge. L'une en Capadoce et l'autre en Palestine et pluxours autres esglizes qui furent faites en l'onour de monsignour Saint Jorge. . . .*

This constant contact with the memory of the saint gave rise to traditions concerning his opportune appearance in time of need during the course of the expedition. The first of these traditions concerns his aid during the capture of Antioch in 1098. It is related from two sources by Papebroch, *AA. SS., l. c.*, pp. 153 F ff., but is found of course also in other historians of the first crusade. He cites first a passage from the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Robert le Moine. One of the Saracen generals, Pyrrhus by name, inquires of Boamundus (Bohemond I, prominent in the capture of Antioch, and afterwards besieged by the Saracens within that city), where the army of knights clad in white was encamped, which constantly met their attack, and whose onslaught his own soldiers could never withstand. Boamundus, enlightened by the spirit of God, answers him: "Scias, quia in terris non conversantur, sed in supernis mansionibus regni coelorum. Hi sunt qui pro fide Christi martyrium sustinuerunt, et in omni terra contra incredulos dimicaverunt. Horum praecipui sunt signiferi Georgius, Demetrius, Mauritius: qui in hac mortali vita militaria arma gestaverunt et pro Christiana fide capite plexi sunt. . . ." Pyrrhus, not satisfied with this explanation, demands still further, if they come from heaven, where do they find white horses, and shields and banners. Bohemond knows no answer and calls in his chaplain, who explains: "Cum omnipotens Creator Angelos suos sive Justorum spiritus mittere disponit in terram, tunc assumunt sibi aerea corpora, ut per ea nobis innotescant. Ideo autem nunc armati apparent, ut indicent quod in bello laboraturis auxilio veniunt." The second passage cited *ibid.* is taken from the *Historia Itineris Hierosolymitani* of Petrus Tudebodus, based upon the *Gesta Francorum* of an anonymous author, which was for a long time looked upon as the original work of Petrus, who claims to have been present at the expedition, and which was the source of the French author of the *Chanson d'Antioche*. The passage reads as follows: "Coeperunt turmae Turcorum ex utraque parte exire, nostrosque undique

circumcingebant, jaculando et sagittando et vulnerando. Exierunt quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, qui ducebant equos albos, quorum vexilla omnia alba erant; videntes itaque nostri hunc exercitum, ignorabant qui essent; donec cognoverunt, esse adjutorium Christi, sicut mandavit illis per Stephanum Sacerdotem; quorum ductores fuerunt S. Georgius et B. Theodorus et S. Demetrius. Haec verba credenda sunt, quia plures ex nostris viderunt hoc."

The same tradition is related by William of Malmesbury: "Persuadebantque sibi videre se antiquos martyres, qui olim milites fuissent, quique mortis pretio parassent praemia vitae, Georgium dico et Demetrium, vexillis levatis a partibus montanis accurrere, jacula in hostes in se auxilium vibrantes. Nec diffitendum est affuisse martyres Christianis, sicut quondam angelos Macchabaeis simili duntaxat causa pugnantis." <sup>1</sup> Another eyewitness cited by Papebroch, *l. c.*, p. 155 A, Raymond d'Aguilers relates in his *Hierosolymitana Historia* that while at Antioch a figure had appeared to him in a vision directing him to carry the bones of four saints, buried in a certain place, which he indicates, to Jerusalem. After some delay and hesitation the four coffins were found and carried away, but a fifth one, which they failed to recognize, was left behind. During the following night a youth appeared to Raymond, "quasi quindecim annorum, pulcherrimus valde, et dixit ei: Quare hodie non accepisti reliquias meas cum ceteris? Et Presbyter ad haec: Et quis es tu, Domine? Et ille: An ignoras quis sit vexillifer hujus exercitus? Et respondit Presbyter: Nescio, Domine. Cumque secundo eidem quaerenti eadem sacerdos respondisset, terribiliter comminatus est ei dicens: Tu revera mihi dices; et tunc ait Sacerdos: Domine, dicitur de S. Georgio, quod sit vexillifer hujus exercitus. Et ille: Bene dixisti, ego sum. Accipe igitur reliquias meas, atque seorsim cum aliis pone. . . ." The priest neglected to fulfill the command, and after some days Saint George appears to him a second time and reiterates the order.

<sup>1</sup> *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, London, 1889, vol. II, p. 420.



When the news of the approach of the army reaches Lydda, the Saracens flee, leaving behind many provisions, which are captured by the Christian army. They offer up thanks to Saint George, and with a common voice decide to institute a bishop at Lydda and Ramula, and Robert, a Norman from Rouen, is appointed to this office.

Finally the army arrives before the walls of Jerusalem, and here again Saint George leads them to victory. During the attack on the city, he appears to them dressed in a white armor, with a red cross, and under his leadership they climb the walls successfully, and drive out the Saracens on the 15th of July, 1099.

I am unable to verify whether the French *Chanson d'Antioche* mentions the appearance of the saint as leader of the army. But in the *Conquête de Jérusalem*,<sup>1</sup> the French continuation of the story of the first crusade, his appearance is twice mentioned, both times in company of Saint Maurice. The first instance occurs ll. 5388-5421, where it is told that the two arrive at the head of an army of 30,000 men on horses '*plus blans que flors des pres.*' The second passage is found ll. 8621 ff., and reads as follows :

Li vesques de Maltran a sor destre gardé,  
Et voit une conpaigne qui chevalchent serré,  
Et voit bien qu'il estoient plus de c mil armé;  
Plus sont blanc que la flors, quant ele naist el pré.  
Sains Jorges fu devant, qui l'ensaigne a porté,  
Et li bers Sains Morisses, le gonfanon fremé.

These traditions kept on increasing without doubt during the various expeditions that were undertaken in the course of the XII century, particularly during the so-called second crusade, which was undertaken in 1144 under the leadership of Louis VII of France, and Konrad III of Germany. But these expeditions produced no texts in French, and we may pass them over in silence.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Hippean, Paris, 1868.

It is certain, however, that during the third crusade the prestige of the saint was greater than ever, and that his name had become the battle-cry of the army. And it was here, without doubt, that the English knights, who accompanied Richard I, learned to accept Saint George as their special guardian. The French knights were accustomed to charge to the cry of Saint Denis, and the English, who as yet had no patron of their own, now quite naturally accepted this leader of battles, whose name filled the air about them.

The French story of this expedition is told in the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* by Ambroise,<sup>1</sup> written about 1196. That Saint George was a common battle-cry<sup>2</sup> appears from several passages; cp., for instance, the description of the battle of Arsur, Sept. 7, 1191 :

Quant li uns d'els clama : "Saint Jorge !  
Lairez vos nos issi confondre ?"

l. 6378.

Another instance is even more interesting, because the knight referred to as using the battle-cry was a Norman from England by the name of Baudoin le Caron, who is also mentioned by Guillaume le Maréchal, l. 4571. The passage reads as follows :

L'un des deus fud uns chevaliers,  
Li marechals ospitaliers ;  
L'autre iert Baudowins li Carons  
Qui iert hardiz com uns leons.  
Compainz iert le rei d'Engleterre,  
Qui l'ot amené de sa terre.  
Cist commencent le desrei

El saint non del tot poissant rei ;

Saint Jorge ! a haute voiz crierent. ll. 6425-6433.

<sup>1</sup> Published by G. Paris, Paris, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Saint George as a battle-cry is found soon after the third crusade in the *Roman de l'Escoufle*, composed by an unknown Norman jongleur before 1204; cp.

Puis escrient lor anemis  
"Traï, traï ! Feres, feres !  
Felon paien, n'i garires  
S'onques diex fist riens por Saint Jorge.

ll. 934-937.

Both of these passages are naturally found in the *Itinera-rium* . . . . *Regis Ricardi*,<sup>1</sup> the Latin translation of the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, made probably between the years 1196 and 1197. Book I of this Latin text, however, follows a different unknown source, and here in the second chapter is found another passage of interest in this connection. The story there relates the prowess of a certain templar of Tourraine, by the name of Jakelin de Mailly, in a battle near Nazareth in 1187. He succumbs in the struggle, "et quia in equo nitido et armis albicantibus tunc casu pugnator incesserat, gentiles qui Sanctum Georgium in hujusmodi habitu militare noverant, se militem nitentis armaturae Christianorum propugnatores interfecisse jactabant."

Abundant opportunity for becoming closely acquainted with all that pertained to the tradition of Saint George was again afforded during the campaign, since the army rested for a period of six weeks at Lydda in 1191 before moving toward Jerusalem, and again in 1192 for a short time after the return from that city.

The manner in which the appearance of Saint George and his companions is related in the story of the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem became the model for a few similar scenes in Old French literature.

The earliest of these, as far as I know, is contained in the *Chanson d'Aspremont*.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the poem, after it has been related how young Roland had saved his uncle Charlemagne from certain death at the hands of Eaumont, son of Agolant, and thereby gained possession of his famous sword Durandal, and how, after this proof of manhood, he had been made a knight, the jongleur goes on to say that one day the young knight felt an unseen hand leading his horse. It was Saint George leading him into battle. The manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Published by W. Stubbs, London, 1864 (Rolls Series).

<sup>2</sup> The poem is still unpublished. The scene in question is cited by Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 138; also *Épopées Françaises*, III, pp. 88 and 91.

in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 25529, gives the following account of this scene :

- fo. 64 d. La bone anseigne va au vent baloiant  
 Saint Jorge tint par la regne Rollant,  
 Et li a dit doucement en riant :  
 " Nel (un Sarrazin) doutez mie por ce s'il est si granz ;  
 Criez Seint Jorge ! des cest jor an avant."  
 Et cil respont . "Sire, jel vos conmant."

The poem then goes on to describe the battle.

- fo. 65 a. Entre Saint Jorge, Saint Domin et Rogier  
 Et Saint Morise qui ert confanoniers  
 Voient Rolant tant durement aidier

. . . . .

- fo. 65 b. Li troi baron sont an l'estor venu,  
 Qui des montaignes estoient descendu.  
 Ce fu Sainz Jorge o Saint Domin son dru  
 Et Sainz Morises, qu'avec aus fu venuz.  
 Rolanz avoit le premier cop feru,  
 Si com Seinz Jorge li avoit consentu.

Another similar appearance of the saint is related in the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*.<sup>1</sup> Thierry is besieged by the Saracens, and receives the message that Garin is coming to his relief. They join forces and attack the pagans.

Et li quens Begues en la presse se mist,  
 A son espie en va maint departir.  
 Monjoie ! escrie, l'enseigne Saint Denis.  
 E Saint Denis sor un bon cheval sist,  
 Et Saint Meurisse, et Saint Jorge autressi.  
 Moult furent bien et veu et choisi :  
 Des paveillons gitterent Sarrasins.

A third instance is found in the *Roman d'Octavien*,<sup>2</sup> placed by the editor into the XIII century, between the years 1229 and 1244. The Saracen army had arrived before Paris, and was laying siege to Dagobert, who had planned a sortie

<sup>1</sup> Published by P. Paris, 1833-1835, vol. II, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Volmöller, *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, vol. III.

against them. With the cry of Saint Denis the French army rushes out.

Quant Sarrazins gardent ensemble  
Desor Monmartre en une lande,  
Et voient molt grant gent venir  
Sor blanc chevaus de grant air,  
Plus sont blans que nois qui s'espant.  
Saint Jories venoit tot devant,  
Sa gent le siuent a eslais.

ll. 4705-4711.

This heavenly army rushes against the enemy, and soon the enemies are beaten. Their *soudant* (sultan) cries out:

Molt nos ont ceste gent grevés  
Et nos hommes mors et tués.  
Fuions nos ent tos nos chemins,  
*Mar* venimes en cest pais.  
Encontre ceste blanche gent  
[Nous] ne porons durier noient.

ll. 4721-4726.

The other longer version known of the same story, belonging to the XIV century, and analyzed in the *Hist. Litt.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 303 ff., relates at this same point an appearance of Saint Denis and Saint Morice; and Volmöller, on p. iv of the introduction maintains that that is the original story. The shorter version, which he publishes, was copied by an Anglo-Norman scribe (there is only one manuscript of it known), and he surmises that the introduction of Saint George here is due to his initiative. This explanation is probably correct, for the appearance of Saint George, it will be noted, follows upon the battle-cry of Saint Denis, which is illogical.

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xlij.

*Oy commence l'ystoire de Saint George.*

De par le filz sainte Marie  
Vous vueil je recorder la vie  
De saint George, et sa passion,  
Comment et par quel occasion

5 Il fut martir, et mis a mort,  
 Sans ce qu'il en eust nul tort,  
 Fors que pour exaucier la loy  
 De Jhesucrist, le nostre roy.

. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

La vie par devocion,

10 Soit chevalier ou autre hom,  
 En bataille ne sera prins,  
 Ains y gaignera los et pris;  
 Sur ses ennemis aura pouvoir,  
 Mais qu'il ait tous jours bon espoir

15 Es miracles du bon martir,  
 Qui prist en Dieu tout son desir.  
 Dieu fist belles vertus pour lui,  
 Si comme vous orrez ja cy.  
 Par trois fois prist mort le prodomme;

20 De co fait le scripture somme.

f. —, col. 2

Une beste sauvage estoit,  
 Qui toutes les gens devouroit.  
 Moult par estoit laide et hideuse,  
 Maintes meres fist doloieuse.

25 Elle repairoit en une ville,  
 Ou ne demouroit filz ne fille,  
 Qu'elle ne passast par son ventre;  
 Un en avoit le jour de rente.

De paour, que plus n'en preist,

30 S'en la ville alast ne venist,

Establirent, ou elle prendroit

Ceux de la ville la endroit.

De chascun hostel un enfant

Convint chascun jour au serpent,

35 Et qui n'a enfans, si y aille,

Qu'il convient acomplir leur taille.

Tous les enfans furent faillis.

Les gens furent moult esbays;

Oncques n'y remaint qu'une fille,

40 Qu'estoit au seigneur de la ville.

Le seigneur dist que il vouloit,

Et pour ce que raison estoit,

Que sa fille alast prendre mort,

Ne vult faire a ses hommes tort.

<sup>1</sup> Two lines are here left blank in the ms.

26 filles.

27 pas.

- 45 Quant vint l'endemain au matin,  
 La fille fut mise au chemin.  
 Grant dueil en orent pere et mere,  
 Quelle estoit de belle maniere.  
 Hors de la ville la convoient,
- 50 Car plus avant aler n'osoient.  
 Grant dueil firent pour leur enfant,  
 Quant vindrent au departement.  
 Quant elle fut en son chemin,  
 Moult pensant ot le chief enclin.
- f. — b. 55 Un homme a cheval vit venir,  
 Bien cuida estre pres de mourir.  
 En son cuer dist tout quoient :  
 "Ha, laisse, je voy le serpent.  
 Il vient vers moy, je vois vers lui,
- 60 Il n'aura ja de moy mercy."  
 Quant elle fut de lui apressée,  
 Adoncques s'est asseurée,  
 Et dist, qu'il a grant hardement,  
 Puis qu'il n'a paour du serpent.
- 65 Quant Saint George vit la pucelle,  
 Qui estoit avenant et belle,  
 Si demanda, ou elle aloit  
 Ainsi seule, comme elle estoit.  
 "Sire, je vois livrer mon corps
- 70 A un serpent qui est la hors.  
 Ceulx qui ont de lui grant doubtance,  
 M'y envoient par leur sentence."  
 Saint George dist a la meschine :  
 "Fille, vous estes sarinzine,
- 75 Mais se vous voulez en Dieu croire,  
 Le serpent ne vous puet mal faire."  
 "Sire, j'y croieray vraiment ;  
 Me puet il donc estre garant ?"  
 "Onil voir, ma tres douce amie ;
- 80 Menez m'y, et je vous en prie."  
 Ilz n'alerent gaires avant,  
 Qu'ilz ne veissent le serpent.  
 Droit a la cité tient sa voie,  
 Car trop lui demouroit sa proie.
- 85 Saint George lui dist haultement,  
 "De par Dieu, le roy tout puissant,  
 (f. — b, col. 2) Te conjur, que n'aies pouoir

- Que d'illec te puisses mouvoir.”  
 “Fille, dist Saint George, prenez  
 90 La ceinture, que ceinte avez,  
 Et la gettez hardiement,  
 Entour le col a ce serpent.”  
 Sa ceinture au col lui getta,  
 Oncques le serpent ne bouga ;  
 95 Droit a la ville l'en menerent,  
 Les gens grant joye en demenerent.  
 Le pucelle dist a son pere :  
 “Sire, croiez vous et ma mere,  
 Ou Dieu a ce bon chevalier ;  
 100 Grant pouoir a de vous aidier.”  
 Toutes les gens s'agenoulerent,  
 A Saint George mercy crierent,  
 Pour Dieu qu'il occie la beste ;  
 Trop par est laide et deshonneste.  
 105 Lors la fery sans demourance  
 Par le chief du fer de sa lance.  
 Tous crierent a plaine gorge :  
 “Nous croirons le Dieu Saint George !”  
 En icel temps, dont j'ay parlé,  
 110 Que le bon saint fut martiré,  
 Estoiert trois roys d'un pays ;  
 Ensemble ont fait un compromis.  
 Dyables ont en leurs querolles,  
 Car ilz croient fausses ydoles.  
 115 Chascun des trois avoit juré,  
 Que trestous ceulx de leur regné,  
 Qui ne croiroient en leurs ydoles,  
 Et qui n'enterroient es queroles,  
 folio — Que je vous ay devant nommées,  
 120 Peines leur sont appareillées,  
 Sy males et si engoisseeuses,<sup>1</sup>  
 Qu'a chascun sont espoventeuses.  
 Quant les crestiens l'ont ouy,  
 Chascun a grant paour de lui ;  
 125 N'y a cellui, qui ose croire,  
 En Dieu, n'en point de son affaire.  
 Il advint que l'empereur,  
 Qui du pays estoit seigneur,  
 Estoit appellé Dacien,

97 puce.

114 creoiert.

109 ce.

115 des trois roys.

112 promis.



- 130 Et fut moult mescreant paien.  
 Crier fist par tout son empire,  
 Que ceulx fussent mis a martire,  
 Qui croiroient Nostre Seigneur ;  
 Crestiens sont a grant douleur.
- 135 Ly emperere Dacien  
 Ot fait faire par son engien  
 Une ymage d'or et d'argent,  
 Pour faire aouer a sa gent.  
 Abulon lui ot mis a nóm ;
- 140 Hault l'ont mis dessus un perron.  
 Soubz lui sont les autres ydoles,  
 Ceulx qui les croient sont folz et foles.  
 Ilz ne croient mie, que Dieux  
 Feist la terre, ne les cieulx.
- 145 Nostre Seigneur, qui fait tous biens,  
 Pour exaulcier les crestiens,  
 Y envoa un messagier ;  
 Saint George ot nom le chevalier.  
 Quant il fu venu au pays,
- (f. —, col. 2) 150 Ou l'empereur avoit tramis  
 Ses messages, pour demander  
 S'on peust nulz crestiens trouver,  
 Nul ne s'i osoit demoustrer,  
 Quant Saint George dist haultement :
- 155 " Croiez en Dieu omnipotent ! "   
 Ains que Saint George eust finée  
 La parolle, qu'ot commencée  
 Pour conforter les crestiens,  
 L'orent saisy les mescreans.
- 160 L'un le bouta avant, autre arriere,  
 Et l'amainent a l'emperere,  
 En leur loy crient comme chien :  
 " Roy emperere Dacien,  
 " Veez cy un crestien traytre,
- 165 Qui vous et vostre loy despite ! "   
 Quant l'emperere vit l'ymage  
 De cil, qu'estoit de Dieu message,  
 Moult lui sembla de belle forme,  
 Grant fain a que vers lui se tourne.
- 170 Si lui a demandé son nom,  
 Comment il est si hardi hom,

- Qu'il ose dire au contraire  
 De son dieu, qu'il avoit fait faire.  
 "J'ay nom George, et suy crestien ;  
 180 Vostre dieu ne vault pas un chien.  
 Je croy Dieu, qui fist tout le monde,  
 De qui tout bien et grace habonde."  
 L'emperere dist maintenant :  
 "George, moult estes bel enfant,  
 185 Mais moult avez pou d'esciant,  
 Qu'alez mon dieu si fort blasmant.  
 En Abulon, mon dieu croiez ;  
 (f. — b.) Tous en soiez riches clamez."  
 "Sire, mais aorez Jhesucrist,  
 190 Qui fait aux arbres porter fruit,  
 Et fait croistre tous autres biens,  
 De quoy vivent tous crestiens ;  
 Et ces ydoles hors getez  
 Dont vous estes si redoubtez."  
 195 Quant l'emperere l'ot ouy  
 Au cuer fut doulent et marry.  
 A celle heure tint un coutel,  
 Cuida ferir le damoiseil  
 Parmy le pis devant le gent.  
 200 Le coutel ressort maintenant  
 Dessus le pié de l'emperere,  
 Par la grace de Dieu, le pere.  
 Et quant l'emperere ce vit,  
 Si le tint a moult grant despit.  
 205 Son dieu Abulon a juré,  
 Que George en male heure fu né.  
 En la prison l'a fait getier,  
 Et puis l'a fait crucifier,  
 Et li fist mettre en lieu de tombe  
 210 Sur le pis une mole ronde.  
 Une roe ot fait faire  
 Cellui, qui est de Dieu contraire,  
 Qui fut a bons rasouers trenchans,  
 Pour destruire les crestiens.  
 215 Cellui fut liez par les bras,  
 Qui estoit de Dieu advocas ;  
 La roe part en dix troncons.  
 L'emperere et ses compaignons

183 emperiere.	193 ses.	201 lempriere.	203 lempriere.
207 getie.	208 crucifie.	218 lempriere.	

- (f. — b, col 2)
- Virent qu'il ot couppé la teste ;  
 220 Chascun d'eulx en mena grant feste,  
 Et dirent tous : " George est mort,  
 Son Dieu n'y puet mettre confort."  
 Lors descent a grant compaignie  
 D'anges le filz Sainte Marie,  
 225 Et ressuscita son sergent.  
 L'ange li dist certainement :  
 " George, amy, ne t'esbay pas,  
 Par trois fois la mort recevras,  
 Et puis avras pour ton servise  
 240 La joye que Dieu t'a promise."  
 Or est George resuscité ;  
 Devant l'emperere est alé,  
 Et lui dist, que tout son travail  
 Ne prise pas un chief d'ail ;  
 245 Pis vault une paine d'enfer,  
 Que toute sa roe de fer.  
 Quant le mescreant l'ot choisy,  
 Saichiez qu'il fut moult esbay,  
 Car il l'ot veu en dix pars ;  
 250 Lors lui dist que il jouoit d'ars.  
 Illec avoit un noble conte,  
 De Dacien n'ot mie honte.  
 Il lui a dit a haulte voix :  
 " George, je croy le Dieu que crois ;  
 255 Et moy et toute ma mesnie,  
 Creons celui qui te rent vie."  
 L'emperere lors a commandé,  
 Que George soit emprisonné  
 En l'ostel d'une povre femme,  
 260 Pour lui faire greigneur diffame ;  
 Et si deffent, que ne lui doigne  
 Chose dont sa vie soustiengne.  
 Saint George avoit moult grant fain,  
 (f. —) A la femme demanda pain.  
 265 Elle dist, qu'elle nen a point,  
 Elle ne scet, qui lui en doint.  
 " Quel dieu crois tu, amie chiere ? "  
 " Abulon, le dieu l'emperere."  
 Celle femme avoit un enfant,  
 270 Sourd, muet, aveugle, impotent.

226 langel.  
 257 lempriere.

239 service.  
 259 loste.

242 lempriere.  
 261 qui.

249 il ot.  
 268 lempriere.

- La femme dist au prisonnier :  
 "Amy George, je te requier,  
 Garys mon enfant, je croiray,  
 Le Dieu du ciel, que tu crois."  
 275 Saint George si dist a l'enfant :  
 "De par Jhesucrist te commant,  
 Appertement sans demourance,  
 Regarde, parle, aies oyence."  
 L'enfant parla, oy et vit ;  
 280 A Saint George maintenant dist :  
 "Les vertus de ton createur  
 Sont greigneurs que de nul seigneur."  
 Chascun vit le miracle grant,  
 Que Dieu ot fait dessus l'enfant.  
 285 Plus de mil s'en sont convertis ;  
 A Dieu rendent grace et mercis.  
 Saint George entra en une chambre,  
 Ou il trouva de la viande.  
 Une table toute chargée,  
 290 Que l'ange avoit appareillée.  
 Le jour d'apres l'envoia querre  
 L'emperere, qui vout enquerre,  
 Comment il convertist ses gens ;  
 Son dieu Abulon y est perdans.  
 295 "Mescreant, de quoy parles tu ?  
 Dieu a en lui si grant vertu,  
 (f. —, col. 2) Que le peuple l'apparcoit bien,  
 Il est a Dieu, tu n'y as rien."  
 L'emperere va demandant :  
 300 "Vault mieulx ton Dieu que Tavergant ?"  
 Saint George lui respont sans faille :  
 "Cellui ne vault pas demi maille,  
 De ce t'ose je bien parler.  
 Mon Dieu fist ciel, terre et mer,  
 305 Et tout quanque il y appartient ;  
 Et si fonda le firmament."  
 Le mescreant dist autres foiz :  
 "Se cellui Dieu, en qui tu crois,  
 Dont tu nous vas ainsi preschant,  
 310 A vertu et pouoir si grant,  
 Qu'il puisse faire porter fruit  
 A ces arbres, que tu vois cy,

- Qui sont seez, passez a xx ans,  
Je croiray tes sermonnemens.”
- 315 “ Bien scay, que tu ne croiras mie ;  
Au cuer as si grant felonnie,  
Que elle ne pourroit souffrir,  
Que a Dieu deusses convertir.  
Mais toutes voies pour acomplir
- 320 A tout le peuple leur desir,  
Je en feray a Dieu priere ;  
Ma parolle n'est mie chiere.”  
Le prodon s'est agenouillié ;  
Devotement a Dieu prié,
- 325 Que il lui plaise par sa grace,  
Que pour lui ce miracle face.  
Quant sa priere fut finée,  
Dieu a sa grace demoustrée.  
Les arbres qui furent coupez,
- (f. — b.) 330 Plus de xx ans avoit passez,  
Ne oncques n'avoient porté fruit,  
Verdirent et porterent tuit.  
Tout le peuple les regarda,  
Chascun si s'en esmerveilla,
- 335 Tous s'escrierent a haulte voix :  
“ Nous creons le Dieu que tu crois ! ”  
Dacien ne creoit neant,  
Et dist que c'est enchantement.  
George dist, se Dieu lui ait,
- 340 Ains est ce de par Jhesucrist.  
Dacien lui dist en riant :  
“ George, tu es moult bel enfant ;  
Je te prie, que tu sacrifies  
Meès dieux, et que ne m'en desdies ;
- 345 C'est Appolin et Tavergant,  
Et Aubulon, qui est plus grant.  
Je vueil qu'aïlles par mon empire,  
Sans ce que nul t'ose desdire.”  
Saint George respondi briefment :
- 350 “ Se tout le peuple si consent,  
Je sacrifieray tes ymages,  
Si y aura moult de dommages.”  
Quant l'emperere si l'ouy,  
De joie fut tout replany,

- 355 Car il cuidoit avoir vaincu,  
 Cel pour qui Dieu faisoit vertu.  
 La femme vint o son enfant,  
 Et s'escriant moult haultement :  
 "George, amis, comment qu'il aille,  
 Bien garde ton seigneur sans faille !"   
 Saint George regarda l'enfant,  
 Et lui a fait commandement :  
 "Va de par Dieu, quant tu voudras,  
 Tous temps amy de Dieu seras."
- (f. — b, col. 2)
- 365 La femme s'escria a hault cry :  
 "Ha, Saint George, le mien amy,  
 Ton Dieu laisses, et a grant tort  
 Qui t'a ressuscité de mort,  
 Et vas aourer les dieux faulx,
- 370 Moult t'en pourroit venir grans maulx !"   
 Saint George entra en la cohue,  
 Ou les dieux estoient en mue,  
 Et leur dist devant l'emperere :  
 "Je vous conjur de Dieu, le pere,
- 375 Que vous me diez la puissance,  
 Que vous avez sans demourance."  
 Lors lui respondi une voix :  
 "Nous avons le pouoir que vois,  
 De mener les gens a contraire,
- 380 Et destourner de leur preu faire."   
 Saint George gette emmy la rue  
 Trestous les dieux de la cohue,  
 Et dist que grant pechié faisoit,  
 Cellui qui leans les tenoit.
- 385 Quant l'emperere ot ce veu,  
 Le sang lui est tout esmeu,  
 Et dist que oncques si grant honte  
 N'orent leurs dieux en jour du monde.  
 Lors a commandé l'emperere,
- 390 Que l'en apporte une chaudiere,  
 Plaine d'yaue jusques au bort,  
 Et qu'on la face boullir fort.  
 Et aux parsecuteurs commande,  
 Qu'ilz le despiecent membre a membre,
- (f. —)
- 395 Et le gietent en la chaudiere ;

355 vaincus.	356 cil, vertus.	357 escrient.	371 cochue.	373
lemperiere.	378 que tu vois.	382 cochue.	385 lempriere.	
389 lempriere.				

- Et ilz le font en la maniere.  
 L'ange vint devant tout le monde,  
 Qui estaigny le feu et l'onde,  
 Et a dit: "George, lieve sus;  
 400 Ce te mande le roy Jhesus."  
 Saint George loe Jhesucrist,  
 Dacien en ot grant despit.  
 Ceulx mesmes qui sont entour lui  
 Crient trestous a Dieu mercy.  
 405 Qui ont veu appertement  
 Le miracle, que Dieu fist grant.  
 La royne le miracle vit,  
 De bon cuer loa Jhesucrist,  
 De son chief gete sa couronne,  
 410 A Dieu et a Saint George se donne.  
 Quant Dacien voit la royne,  
 Qui aux vertus de Dieu encline,  
 Il ly a dit: "Royne honnorée,  
 Ce larron vous a enchantée."  
 415 "Enchantée ne suy je pas.  
 Onc de mal faire ne fus las,  
 Encore en auras ta desserte.  
 Fuy d'icy. Dieu te doint male perte.  
 Je croy en Dieu, tu n'y crois mie,  
 420 Tu crois la grant forcenerie  
 Des ydoles, qui te font faire  
 Aux crestiens tant de contraire.  
 Fay moy mourir quant tu voudras,  
 Jamais nul jour ne me verras  
 425 Croire tes ymages d'argent;  
 (f. —, col. 2) En Dieu ay mon cuer vraiment."  
 Ly emperere la fist prendre,  
 Par les cheveux si la fist pendre;  
 Puis lui ont la teste coupée,  
 430 A une bien trenchant espée.  
 Les anges y sont descendus  
 Chantans "te deum laudamus."  
 Devant Dieu ont l'ame portée,  
 Comme royne l'ont couronnée.  
 435 L'emperere fut moult plain d'ire,  
 Qui vint de veoir le martire;  
 A ses sergens a commandé,

- Que George lui soit amené.  
 L'en lui amene appertement,  
 440 Et quant il le vit en present,  
 Si lui a fait une demande,  
 Et que responce lui en rende.  
 "Un sepulcre a yci devant ;  
 Je croiray ton dieu vraiment,  
 445 Se tu m'en fais veoir les corps  
 De tous ceulx, qui y sont mors."  
 Saint George lui dist sans demorance :  
 "J'ay en Dieu si bonne esperance,  
 Que quanque je vueil demander,  
 450 Il m'ottroie sans atarder.  
 Or faites le sepulcre ouvrir,  
 Et trestous les os concueillir.  
 Lors si verront femmes et hommes  
 Se les vertus de Dieu sont bonnes."  
 455 Ou sepulcre gardèrent tuit,  
 N'y trouverent os grant ne petit.  
 La pouldre lui ont apportée,  
 (f. — b.) Dedans un drap envelopée.  
 Saint George s'est agenouillié,  
 460 Et de tout son cuer a prié :  
 "Dieu qui prist mort pour tout le monde,  
 Face vertus sur ceste pouldre,  
 A fin que chascun a grant joie  
 Congnoisse trestous que tu soies  
 465 Sire de paradis et roy,  
 Et croient ainsi comme moy ;  
 Car il n'est Dieu autre que toy."  
 Quant il ot dit tout son pouoir  
 Chascun pot bien apparcevoir,  
 470 Qu'il ot illec hommes et femmes,  
 Qui furent en corps et en ames.  
 Saint George leur a demandé,  
 Combien il a de temps passé,  
 Qu'ilz furent mis en ce tombel.  
 475 L'un respont, qui ot nom Jouel :  
 "Sire, il a plus de ii c. ans  
 Et ne sommes pas crestiens.  
 Pour Dieu, que nous baptisez, sire,  
 Que ne retournions a martire."  
 480 Lors a de l'yaue demandée,



- Nus homs ne lui a apportée.  
 Tantost fist une croix sur terre,  
 Une fontaine en sourt grant erre.  
 Saint George les baptisa tuit,  
 488 Et leur dist : " De par Jhesucrist,  
 Alez devant moy, mes amis  
 Avec Dieu en paradis."  
 Adonc dirent toutes les gens :  
 "Grant est le Dieu des crestiens !  
 (f. — b, col. 2) 490 Dacien est de put affaire,  
 Qui aux hommes Dieu fait contraire."  
 L'emperere est en grant doulour,  
 Le corps lui tremble de paour,  
 Et fait male chiere et diverse,  
 495 Pour le peuple, qui se converse.  
 A haulte voix s'est escrié :  
 " Helas, cheitif maleuré,  
 Pour quoy vint George en mon empire,  
 Huy en souffrera grant martire."  
 500 Lors appella tous ses sergens :  
 "Allez tost, je le vous commans,  
 Prenez George sans demourée,  
 Si lui soit la teste couppée."  
 Et tout au long de la cité  
 505 L'ont les sergens moult debouté,  
 Et lui dirent, soit droit ou tort :  
 " Huy prendras la tierce foy mort !"  
 Ceulx et celles, qui en Dieu croient,  
 En plourant le martir convoient,  
 510 Tant qu'ilz ont la porte passée,  
 Ou fut la royne decolée.  
 Il regarda tout environ,  
 Sur les gens fist beneicon.  
 Aux sergens dist : "Traiez arriere,  
 515 A Dieu vueil faire ma priere."  
 Contremont a levé ses yeux,  
 Les mains a jointes droit aux cieulx,  
 Et requiert au doulz Jhesucrist,  
 Qu'il recoive son esperit.  
 520 " Beau sire Dieu, je vous requier,  
 Qu'il vous plaise moy ottoier,  
 (f. —) Que vous gardiez ceulx de pesance,  
 Qui de moy feront remembrance ;

- Sy vous requier, biau sire Dieux,  
 525 Ceulx qui feront fonder aux cieulx,  
 Et en mon nom feront offrande,  
 Sire, garde les de mesprendre."  
 Quant ot finée s'oroison,  
 Adonc vint grant procession  
 530 Des anges Dieu du ciel en terre,  
 Qui vindrent l'ame de lui querre.  
 "Vien t'en, George," dient li anges,  
 "Huy auras ce que tu demandes;  
 Huy seras en la compaignie  
 535 De Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie."  
 Un sergent prist le damoiseil,  
 L'espée traite hors du fourrel,  
 Et il donne si grant colée,  
 Qu'il ly a la teste coppée.  
 540 Les anges ont l'ame saisie,  
 Et vont chantans a voix serie,  
 A Dieu, le pere tout puissant,  
 Aux cieulx lui en font un present.  
 L'en ne mist pas le corps en fosse,  
 545 Ains fut porté en Capadoce.  
 Crestiens l'i firent porter;  
 Une eglise en firent fonder.  
 Or prions le glorieux Saint,  
 Tous et toutes que il nous maint  
 550 A si bon port, que nous puission  
 Avoir vraie confession.  
 — Amen. — Cy fine de monseigneur  
 Saint George.

JOHN E. MATZKE.